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B U R S L E M

The development of statutory bodies and their
interactions with local institutions,

1850 - 1910

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A B S T R A C T

The years 1850 to 1910 cover the period when a number of statutory bodies were established to carry out Acts of Parliament which had been passed to improve the condition of the people. This thesis examines the background to the establishment of such bodies in Burslem as the Local Board of Health in response to the Public Health Act 1848; the School Board in 1874 after the Education Act of 1870; the Education Committee after the 1902 Education Act; the Board of Guardians in 1838 as a result of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act; outside bodies that were also involved were the School Inspectorate and the Factory Inspectorate, the latter to enforce the 1864 Factory Acts Amendment Act, the operation of which was not put in the hands of local people. The problems faced by the elected bodies and how they coped with the situation are also examined, as is the composition of the membership. The period 1850 to 1910 saw the only time when Burslem had an effective local government of its own.

The major local institutions were those of the Church and the Chapel. The religious institutions were well organised and the state of the established church, of non-conformism and Roman Catholicism is examined as are the relationships between the religious groups and the conflicts that arose between them, that were extended to the field of education in particular. In other fields the role of bodies such as the friendly societies and trade unions is seen in the context of their relationship with the statutory bodies.

In conclusion it can be seen that the primary moves for the changes came from Parliament, but once the framework had been established the local people responded with varying degrees of enthusiasm and considered ways of extending the powers that they had been provided with

in the appropriate Act. Opposition to the creation of such statutory bodies was very slight.

NOTES

There were two men called Thomas Hulme, who were both active in local affairs at the same time. They will be distinguished as Thomas Hulme (D) and Thomas Hulme (W). The 'D' standing for Dunwood Hall, Endon, and the 'W' for Woodleigh, Wolstanton, their respective residences.

There were also two men called Edward Walley, though they were not quite contemporaries, one was an earthenware manufacturer and the other was a builder.

Abbreviations

S. Adv. Staffordshire Advertiser

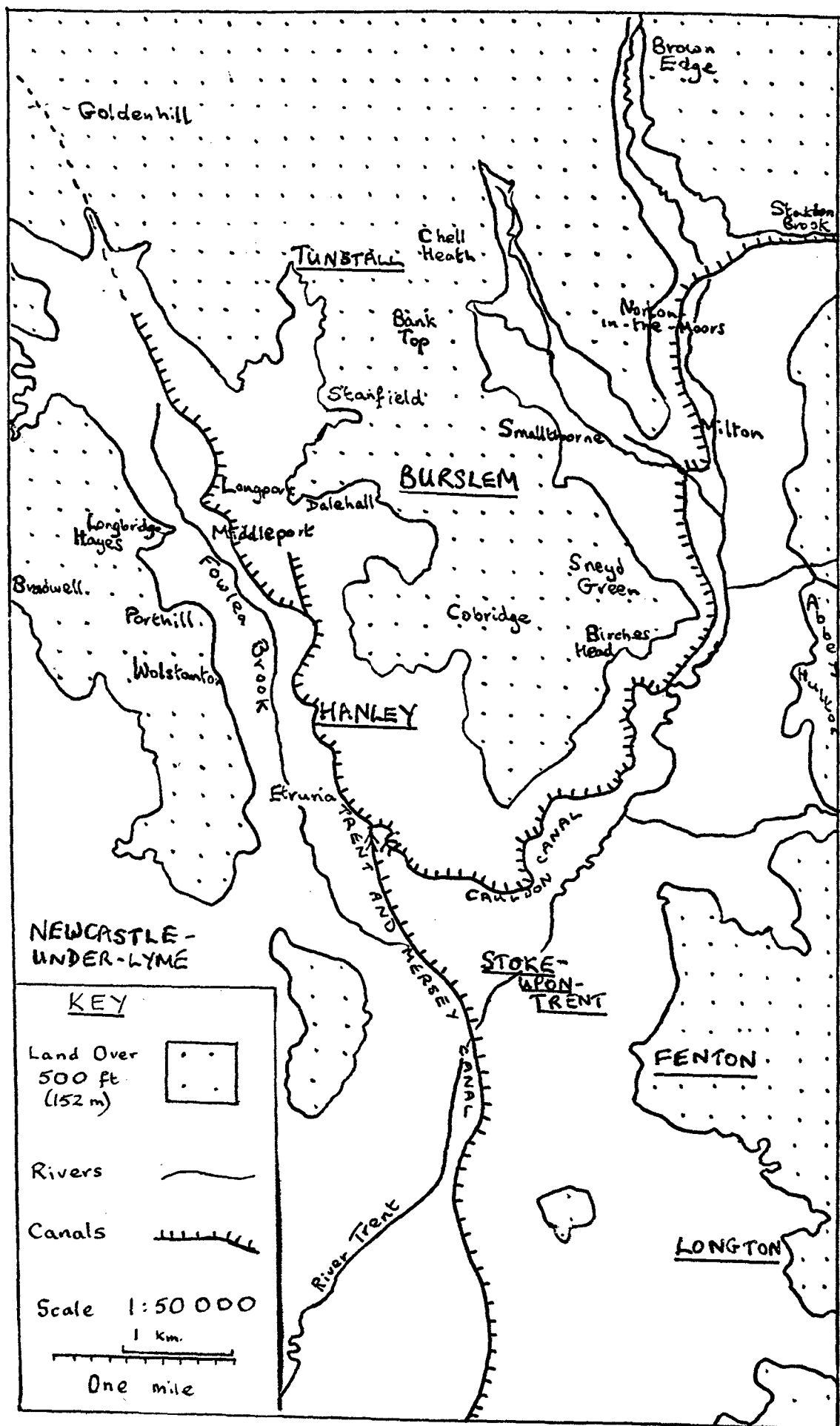
C E C Children's Employment Commission

B S B Burslem School Board

B Ed C Burslem Education Committee

W & B Wolstanton and Burslem Poor Law Union/Guardians

A MAP OF THE POTTERIES



C H A P T E R I

The Town of Burslem

Location

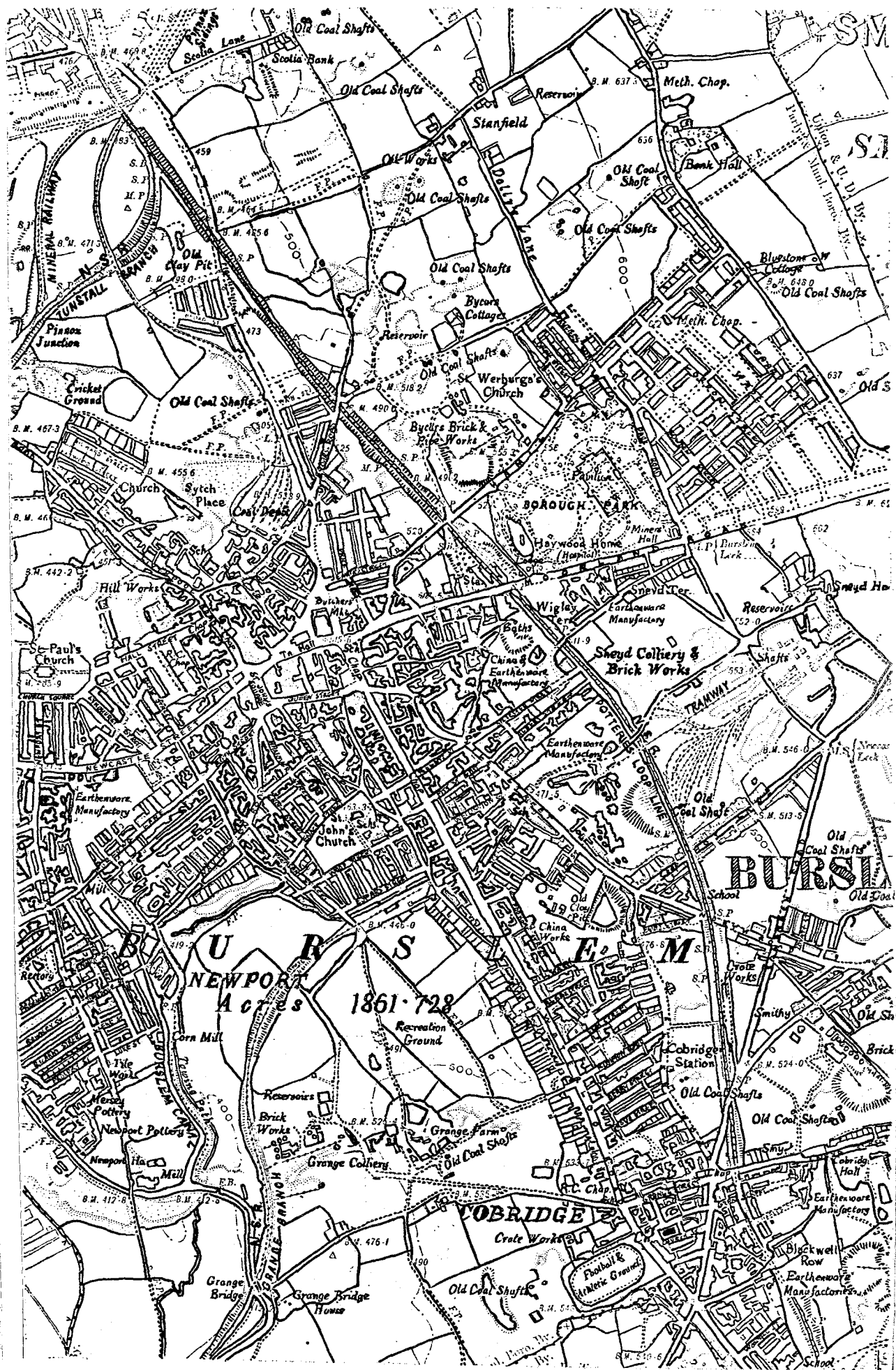
Burslem was one of the six towns of North Staffordshire that were collectively known as 'the Potteries', because the predominant and staple industry was the manufacture of earthenware and china, and in the production of such goods the six towns formed the major centre in Britain as nowhere else was there such a concentration of firms nor so many firms. The six towns followed an approximately linear pattern, with Burslem lying between Tunstall and Hanley in the northern trio (Stoke-upon-Trent, Fenton and Longton made up the southern trio). The Potteries lay on the fringe of the Peak district and particularly on the east were moorlands, the river Trent created the main valley and local streams were its tributaries. The area was within reasonable access of both Manchester and Birmingham and the port of Liverpool for business purposes and in the latter part of the period the coast of North Wales and the Isle of Man were the main recreational destinations.

Geology and Topography

Burslem was sited, mainly on coal measures, those ran in the general direction, north-west to south-east, and the sequence from east to west was - middle and lower coal measures, then the Black Band group, then Etruria Marls. The coal measures, especially the Black Band group, contained iron as well as coal, and were of economic importance to the town. The marls contained the clays that were used, at that time for bricks, tiles and saggars.¹ Most of Burslem was on a ridge of land, some 500 feet above sea-level, to the west was the valley of the Fowlea Brook, a tributary stream of the river Trent, to the east was the

1. Containers in which pottery was packed for protection whilst it was being fired.

CENTRAL BURSLEM



O. S.	1:10,560	Six inches to one mile	1900
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confluence of the Fowlea and the Trent which formed a lowland area.¹

Communications

Transport of raw materials and manufactured goods depended to a major extent on the Trent and Mersey Canal. Built between 1766 and 1772 it provided a connection with Liverpool to the north and Burslem had a short stretch of branch canal leading from Burslem Wharf to the main canal through the district known as Newport.

The main road links from Burslem were to Leek in the east, the Shelton and Hanley in the south, to Wolstanton and Newcastle-under-Lyme in the west and to Tunstall in the north.

The railway did not reach the Potteries until 1848, with the result that the route of the main trunk lines from London to the north-east had already been built further west, through Crewe. Burslem's main station was at Longport until the construction of the Loop Line which provided a connecting link with the other pottery towns and to the main line. Work began on the Loop Line in 1870 and was completed as far as Cobridge and Burslem in 1873 after considerable reluctance and slow progress by the North Staffordshire Railway Company. There were a number of mineral lines in the district for moving coal and iron.

The telegraph came to Burslem in 1863 and the National Telephone Company had a call office in Burslem by 1889 and most manufacturing firms had a telephone by 1907.

The Population

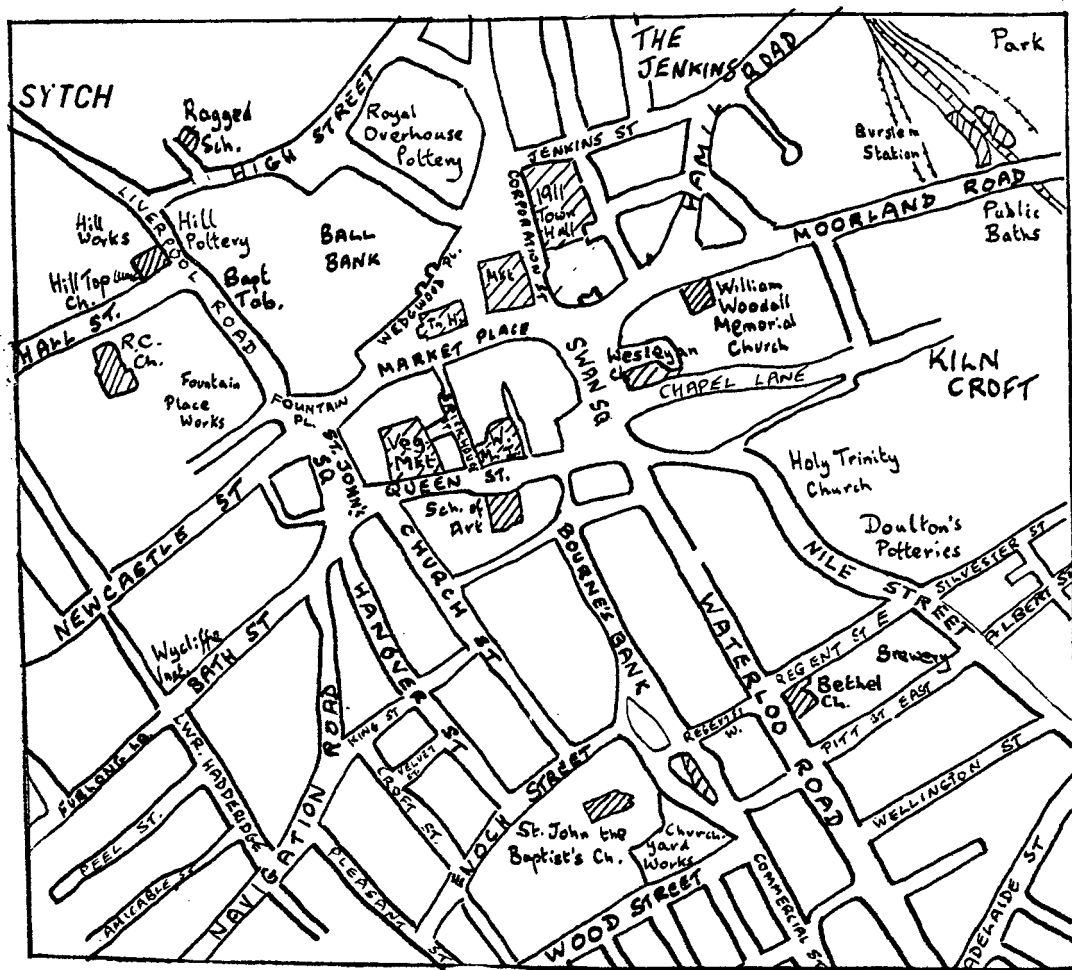
In the 1851 census the population was recorded as 19,725 in the parish of Burslem and in 1911 the population for the same area was 41,566 so population growth was a major factor in all the problems faced in public health, education and with the poor, because the numbers

1. Fowlea was also spelt 'Fowlhay'

involved continued to increase and they had to be housed, and in later years be found school places and there was increased pressure on all the facilities of the town, though there was a greater income from the rates, but a rising population added to the problems.

The parish of Burslem consisted of the township of Burslem, the ville of Rushton Grange, the hamlet of Sneyd and the lordship of Abbey Hulton which included the villages of Milton and Sneyd Green. In 1851 the township had 15,954 people, the ville 1901, the hamlet of 1,254 and the lordship 616 and from 1841 there had been about an 18% increase in population that the census report attributed to the 'success of the Coal Mines and Potteries and the improved state of trade'. Between 1851 and 1861 the percentage increase was over 11½, and between 1861 and 1871 just over 17½, the extension of iron mining being considered the main cause. However the decade 1871 to 1881 saw the smallest percentage increase of about 4, there was the loss of some 100 houses to Tunstall but the reduced growth was not easily explained, though part of the reason may have been the sharp decline in coal mining due to the flooding of many of the pits and in part the shortage of building land that was available at that time. The decade 1881 to 1891 had an increase of nearly 14% and 1891 to 1901 an increase of 18½%, the largest ever, in the early 1890's a large area in the north-east of Burslem was used for new housing estates and with increased accommodation the town may have attracted more people, also in 1891 the municipal borough boundaries were extended to include parts of Sneyd and North Road. The number of houses increased from 6,120 to 7,650 in that decade. The 1911 census does not list Burslem, except as a civil parish, but the municipal area of Wards no. 4 to no. 8 of Stoke-on-Trent had a population of 41,566 compared with 38,766 for the old municipal borough so that period was one of consolidation of the rapid growth of the previous ten years.

A MAP OF BURSLEM TOWN CENTRE c1910



W. M. I - Wedgwood Memorial Institute

Based on map in Victoria County History of Staffordshire
Volume 8 page 111

The age distribution of the population did not change much, with a continually growing population the largest age group were the under-five year olds, with the older age groups there was a gradual decrease in numbers. There was a sharp decrease between the 40-45 year old group and the 45-50 year old group in 1851, but by 1901 it was the 50-55 and 55-60 year old groups that showed the noticeable decline which indicates an improvement in life expectancy. There were survivors beyond the age of 85, in 1871 there were 17 residents between 85 and 90 years old, and there was one lady over 100 years old in 1881 and a centenarian man in 1901.

The birth rate remained high throughout the period at about 40 per thousand, with the early 1870's probably being the peak. The death rate fluctuated considerably but after 1880 showed a noticeable decline from peaks of up to 31 per thousand in 1867 to 18.6 in 1894. With the birth rate being consistently higher than the death rate it is not surprising that the population grew, though a study of the population structure in central Burslem in 1851 showed that immigration was a factor, with nearly 40% of the inhabitants having moved from over five miles away into Burslem, and over 8% having come from Ireland and the figure for 1861 showed only a slight decline in the proportion born outside Burslem.

Burslem

The town was thought of by its citizens as the 'Mother of the Staffordshire Potteries' and to some extent they thought that they were due a privileged position in consequence, but that was not the case. Burslem was not the market centre of the Potteries, it was not the civic centre, it was not the Parliamentary centre, and was no more of a manufacturing centre than any of the other Pottery towns, though



ST. JOHN'S SQUARE

there was a greater concentration of the earthenware and American trade in the northern part of the Potteries.

The town centre consisted of the Market Place dominated by the Market Hall and Town Hall; of the open spaces of Swan Square, Fountain Place and St. John's Square; and of Queen Street which by 1910 had the Wedgwood Institute, the new School of Art and St. John's Vegetable Market. Many of the buildings in the town centre dated back to the eighteenth century with typical Georgian architecture. The 'Big House', facing Swan Square and the Leopard Inn were noticeable examples of eighteenth century buildings. The 'Big House' was still a private residence in 1851 occupied by John Wedg Wood but in later years it was the headquarters of the Conservative Party and Club.

St. John's Square was rebuilt at the end of the nineteenth century so the town centre was a mixture of old and new. Whilst it was an area primarily concerned with the retail trade, plus some offices, there were a number of potteries on Queen Street and around Market Place, and whilst some were demolished, such as the Brickhouse Works, once used by Josiah Wedgwood, others remained or were rebuilt in situ, such as the Overhouse Works. The presence of the potteries may have restricted commercial development and certainly subjected the town centre to considerable smoke pollution which turned the buildings black.

Several main roads led from the centre - Waterloo Road, Moorland Road and Hamil Road; Liverpool Road and Newcastle Street. Waterloo Road went to Hanley, at first it went downhill to the small valley in which the Parish Church of St. John the Baptist had been built, then it climbed the long slope up to Cobridge, at first a separate village, but later house-building gave a continuous connection to Burslem. The houses at Cobridge were larger and more expensive than at any other part of Burslem and if the town had a 'high-class' district then the

section of Waterloo Road from Grange Terrace opposite the Washington Works to Christ Church could be so considered. There were numerous potteries both on and near Waterloo Road as well as coal mining at Rushton Grange.

Eastwards from the town centre was Moorland Road and the older Hamil Road,¹ that area of the town between those two roads was the last to be developed as much of it was used for coal mining until the setbacks of the 1870's. It was not until the 1890's that part of it was used for the Park and the rest for new housing when the Wood family allowed its development. Also in that area of the town centre was the Loop Line railway station, the Hayward Hospital, and the Public Baths.

Northwards from the town centre was Liverpool Road, which had the fine building of Burslem Sunday School on the corner of Hall Street, the area of Hill Top had some of the best known of Burslem potteries - the Hill Works and the Hill Pottery. It was the main road towards Brownhills and Tunstall.

Westwards went Newcastle Street, again downhill from the centre to Dalehall,² dominated by the enormous church of St. Paul, and with a few large houses like Portland House, occupied for most of this period by the Miss Rileys, and many small terraced houses built in the 1860's and 1870's, which filled up the area on three sides of the church and the area on the south of Newcastle Street and between Newport Lane and the canal - the area known as Middleport. Past Trubshawe Cross was Longport and the Trent and Mersey Canal and the road continued to Porthill and Wolstanton and to Newcastle-under-Lyme. Longport was also a nearly separate village in the 1850's and was dominated by the potteries of

1. - also spelt 'Hamill'
2. - also written 'Dale Hall'

the Davenport family and Longport Hall. The town's gas works was built there in the 1850 s and the railway had come in 1848 with Longport Station being known as Burslem Station until the Loop Line was opened.

Districts of the town were the Styth an area to the north of St. Paul's Church and around Liverpool Road. The Jenkins was an open area of land on the west side of the town centre, part of it was used as a recreational ground until new streets were laid out; Kilncroft was an area at the townward end of Nile Street and leading off Chapel Lane was a mass of small streets and courts of a noticeable poor sort. The triangular area between the town ends of Nile Street and Waterloo Road was another poor area with a maze of small streets. The hamlet of Sneyd was a coal mining area and Sneyd Colliery became the main mine of the area and Hot Lane was the main route through the area.

In 1850 Burslem consisted of a number of small, separate centres, by 1910 it was a mainly built-up area with some open land on the outskirts of the town, many of the gaps had been filled in.

The Town and its Buildings.

The major buildings in 1851 were the Market Hall dating from 1836, the old Town Hall dating from 1760 and the Wesleyan Chapel dating from 1801. In 1911 the Market Hall was still there, but had been joined by a covered Vegetable Market in Queen Street, the 1760 Town Hall had long since been demolished and in 1854-57 was replaced by the second Town Hall and in 1911 the foundation stones of the third Town Hall were laid, a hall that it was hoped would be the main administrative headquarters for the Potteries. Other new buildings were the Wedgwood Institute of 1863-69 in Queen Street and the new School of Art also on Queen Street in 1907. There were a number of new chapels and churches, a railway station, swimming baths, a hospital, Poor Law offices, many schools.

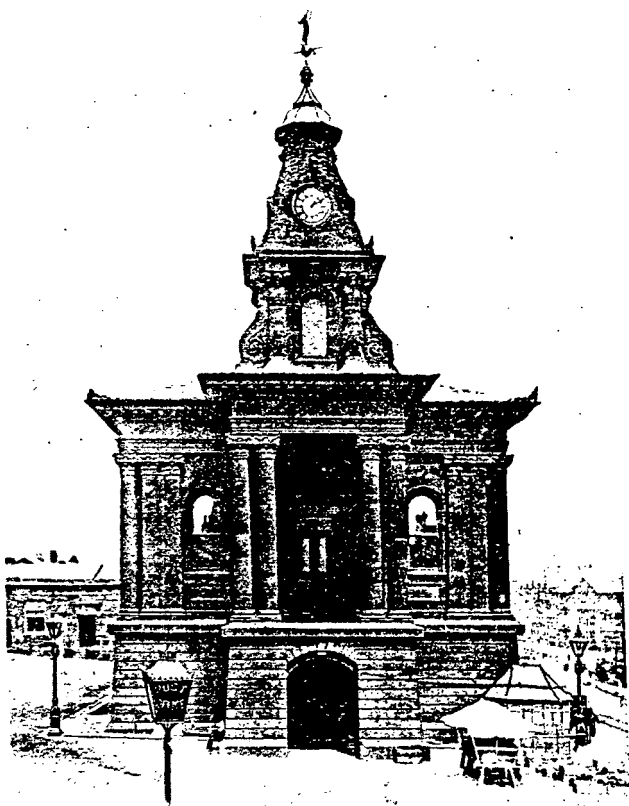
The market hall was used as a butchers' shambles with 124 stands and market days were Mondays and Saturdays, with Wednesdays added by the 1860 s. The interior could be cleared in the evenings for public meetings or dances. It was quite a grand building of stone with Doric portico of six fluted columns and the interior was gas-lit. For many years the market tolls were auctioned off to the highest bidder, who paid a lump sum to the Market Commissioners and later the Local Board of Health and collected the tolls. If a high enough bid was not received the local authority undertook the collection of tolls themselves and as the century progressed that became the standard practice.

Until 1879 vegetables were sold from stalls set up in St. John's Square, but in 1876 the Local Board of Health decided to purchase the Brickhouse Works on Queen Street for the site of a vegetable market. This was the result of pressure from local traders who felt that the Newcastle Street end of the town centre was suffering a decline as most of the new development had been at the Moorland Road end. It was also an attempt to draw back trade that had been lost, in 1876 William Woodall stated:

'Everyone at all acquainted with the town must know that a certain portion of the trades of Burslem had left it. The value of the business of shopkeepers in the centre of the town was less than it used to be. The tendency of the inhabitants of the place and those of outlying places such as Smallthorne¹ and Norton was to gravitate towards Hanley,'

The Local Board was prepared to borrow some £20,000 for the new market and a grand building of Yorkshire stone and red brick was built, it had a roof of glass panels set in metal grooves and supported on wrought iron

1. Burslem Newscuttings p.33



BURSLEM TOWN HALL

columns. Not only were market stalls provided but also a number of shops with offices over, but for several years the new market was a financial liability as lettings were slow and traders reluctant to move indoors. It did not prove the attraction that had originally been hoped.

The 1760 Town Hall was a small affair, the ground floor was used as a fish market and store for market stalls, there were only two rooms upstairs, one was a public newsroom, the other was the meeting room for the Market Commissioners and the Local Board of Health. Even before the Local Board took over there were plans to build a new Town Hall and it was one of the first major projects tackled by the Local Board. A competition was held for the design of the building which was won by G.T. Robinson, an architect who had shortly before designed Holy Trinity Church, Sneyd. However building was delayed because of high costs, the result of wage increases to building workers after several strikes. There was another delay when several Board members objected that the Board did not have the power to borrow money for building a Town Hall, using the market tolls as security, they sent a memorial to the General Board of Health, but the Town Hall Committee sent a reply and the General Board of Health came down on the side of the Town Hall Committee. Building began in 1854 though was delayed by the bad state of the ground for the foundations and it was opened in January 1857.¹ It provided rooms for Local Board meetings, for public meetings and lectures and for a magistrates court. After it was extensively redecorated and William Davenport had given an organ the Surveyor to the Local Board reported in 1856 that:

1. In 1910 Ald. Thomas Edwards, remembered the chorus of a ballad that was produced on the day of the laying of the foundation stone when there had been a very severe hailstorm.

"Did you see the grand procession?
Did you see the hailstones fall?
Did you see the cornerstone
Laid for Burslem new Town Hall?"

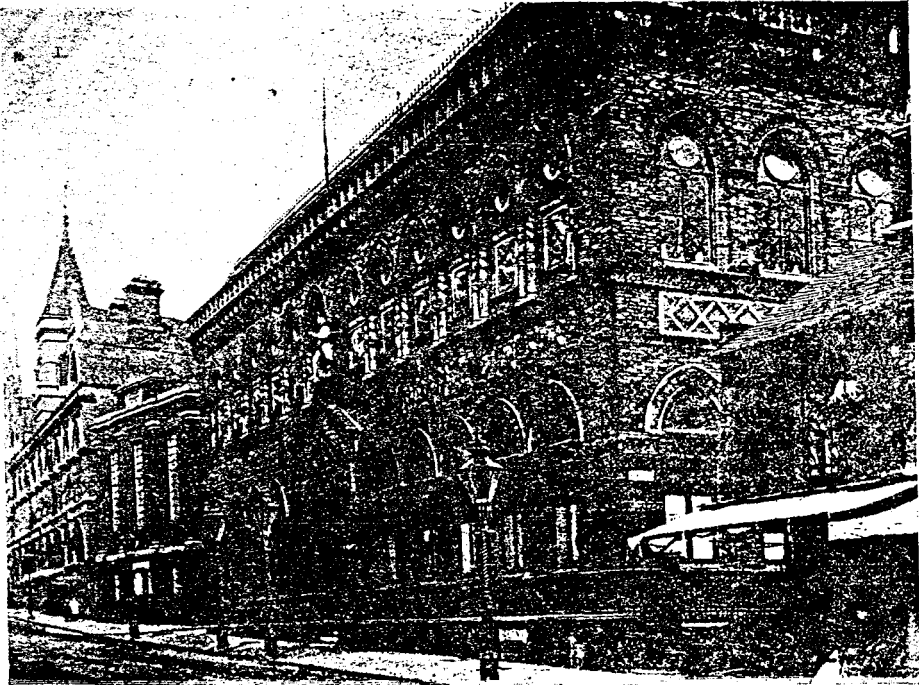
'The Board have the gratification of possessing a Town Hall which for architectural pretensions, artistic decoration and completeness of its appointments, is for its size unsurpassed.'

1

With approaching Federation new municipal buildings were proposed in May 1909, the keenest supporter of a new Town Hall being Alderman Sydney Malkin. It was to cost £25,000 out of unspent balances. After the winning architectural design had been chosen and altered the cost had risen to £30,000 and there was considerable opposition to the proposed building, especially as it was seen as a rival to the Victoria Hall, Hanley. At a public meeting there was a majority against it and poll of ratepayers was demanded, after the Council had accepted a tender of £25,000 a second public meeting was held and as this one was entry by ticket only there was a much smaller attendance and there was a small majority against polling the ratepayers. In early 1910 the Council decided to proceed and a substantial building was erected with a large hall for 2,000 and a smaller hall, a stipendiary police court, a children's court, magistrates rooms, meeting rooms, kitchens and store rooms. The foundation stone was laid by Ald. Sydney Malkin on 14 March 1910, only a fortnight before Burslem Town Council ceased to exist and it was completed in 1911, though any hopes that it would be the main seat for the Stoke County Borough Council were not fulfilled and Stoke Town Hall was adopted as the main meeting place after a while spent rotating between all the Town Halls.

Apart from the 1854 Town Hall the building over which people felt most proud was the Wedgwood Institute, but it was not just a building, it was a memorial to Josiah Wedgwood in the form of a School of Art and a School of Science oriented to the local industries and the story of

1. Reports of the Clerk and Surveyor to the Local Board of Health 1851-1867



WEDGWOOD INSTITUTE - 3

1

2

3

ST. JOHN'S VEGETABLE MARKET - 1

INDEPENDENT CHAPEL - 2

the Wedgwood Institute really begins with the founding of the Government School of Design. In 1850 both Hanley and Stoke had schools of art; Burslem and Tunstall did not and some of the local manufacturers thought it time that there was a School of Design for the two towns. It would supply trained artists and designers for local firms and in doing so reduce the number of foreign designers that were employed, at great cost, by a number of firms.

The first official meeting was held on the 2 December 1851 and a committee was established to raise funds for the project. By October 1852 £200 had been subscribed and a petition had been sent to the Board of Trade requesting Government assistance. In December 1852 Mr. Cole from the Department of Practical Art explained the Government plan for the school of design. He suggested that they appoint a master at £70 a year who would teach in those public day schools willing to pay £10 a year for two hourly lessons a week or £5 for one hourly lesson a week. The master would also attend a general school for which the Committee would provide the rooms, desks, apparatus and models, and pay the rest of the master's salary, as the Government guaranteed £40 for that purpose for the first year only. If the fees of the pupils exceeded £70 then the master was to receive half, the committee was to have the other half for general expenses.¹

The school finally opened on 11 July 1853 with Mr. W.J. Mückley, from the Department of Practical Art, in charge. The syllabus offered elementary outline drawing from the figure, landscape, perspective, flowers, and decorative ornament. The classes were open to males and females, the public classes were held on Monday and Wednesday afternoons and every evening except Saturday at the lowest rate the committee could afford and 43 candidates attended the evening classes in the first week,

1. Burslem School of Design - Minutes of the Committee 6 December 1852

whilst others were disappointed because they could not be accommodated, but the private classes at 10s 6d (52½p) a quarter, on Monday and Wednesday mornings were under subscribed.

"
Mr. Muckley gave instruction at the Wolstanton school though soon transferred to the Wesleyan Day School at Tunstall, St. John's National Schools, Burslem and the Wesleyan Day School, Burslem. In the first annual report on the School it was noted that 99 pupils from the day schools were receiving instructions, with an average attendance of 75.¹

The number of students receiving art instruction was given as 89 females and 81 males, but difficulties were beginning to emerge, in March 1854 the Committee were told that the £40 Government grant was not to be renewed, but were told that the Government promised 'something which would prove most satisfactory.'² It proved to be a grant of £10 a year and the committee rather bitterly pointed out to the Board of Trade that Burslem and Tunstall had more than 30,000 inhabitants and of every ton of pottery made in the Potteries 14 cwt. was made in Burslem and Tunstall. The building in which the classes were held was both inadequate and inconvenient which meant that modelling and painting classes could not be established.³ Under pressure the committee had increased the charges for the public classes, though they were still the lowest permitted by the Board of Trade, the evening classes, five nights a week from 6.30 to 8.30 had an entrance fee of 1s (5p) and cost males 2s and females 1s 9d a month, the afternoon classes on Monday and Wednesday, from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. cost 2s 6d (25p) entrance and males paid 10s 6d a quarter and females 8s (40p). In spite of generous

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|----|--------------------------|----------------|-------------------|------|
| 1. | Burslem School of Design | <u>Minutes</u> | 29 April 1854 | p.30 |
| 2. | " | " " " " | 22 March 1854 | p.26 |
| 3. | " | " " " " | 29 September 1854 | p.32 |

contributions of £10.-10s (£10.50) each from the Duke of Sutherland, John Bateman and Edward Wood and the local pottery firms of Davenport & Company, Alcock & Company, James Edwards & Son, Pinder, Bourne & Hope and T., J & J Mayer, the master threatened to resign in December 1854 if his salary was not guaranteed by the committee, which the committee did until May 1856.

In 1855 the initial enthusiasm and novelty of the School had worn off and it was also a bad year for trade so the number of students slumped to 56 and the committee complained again about the withdrawal of the government grant which

"prevented the formation of a number of classes necessary to constitute a complete system of art education, and essential to qualify the Students for the requirements of the various branches of the trade and industry in which they will eventually have to engage." 1

In spite of this the standard of the teaching and the progress of the students was good, one student receiving no fewer than six medals for his work from the Department of Practical Art. A modelling class was established in 1856 through the generosity of Smith Child, a frequent benefactor of projects in North Staffordshire.

In 1857 the idea of a purpose built school was first suggested and fund raising was begun, premises on Hill Street and on Brickhouse Street were considered but no decision was reached. The committee's dilatoriness in providing better accommodation may well have been a contributory factor in the resignation of Mr. Muckley in July 1858. The school premises were in an upstairs room at the Legs of Man Inn, but underneath the room Mr. Clarke of the Inn was keeping pigs, and the room itself was reported to be "in a very filthy state". 2

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1. Burslem School of Design Annual Report 28 September 1855 p.38
 2. Burslem School of Design Minutes 20 September 1858 p.62

In the fifth annual report in 1858 the Burslem school was compared to the other art and design schools in the area.

	Students		Fees	Medals	
	1856	1857		Local	National
Burslem	167	164	£ 53	13	4
Hanley	122	259	£ 59	7	4
Newcastle-under-Lyme	185	180	£ 29	6	2
Stoke	188	293	£166	22	7

1

With such successful results it is not surprising that the students presented Mr. Muckley with a testimonial and he in turn expressed deep regret at parting with his students, of whom he would always be proud. Mr. Muckley was not sorry to leave Burslem because of the coldness and apathy of the manufacturers to the progress of art. The other reason for Mr. Muckley's departure for Wolverhampton was the uncertainty of his salary, in 1855 he had offered to do private design work for local manufacturers and in 1856 offered private lessons at his home; he was still owed £66 by the Committee when he left.

The departure of Mr. Muckley marked the effective end of the School of Design, but those local people who had supported the School from 1851 and the students were anxious that it should be revived, but in September 1858 the Committee owed Mr. Muckley £66 and local tradesmen £30 and only had £17-18s (£17.90) in the bank. At the public meeting for the distribution of medals and prizes there were complaints that both the Hanley and Stoke schools received substantial government grants. At that meeting a new committee was established, with a number of operatives as members.²

The idea that such a new school of design could be Burslem's memorial to Josiah Wedgwood was suggested by Joseph B. Walker, one of

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1. S. Adv. 26 June 1858
 2. S. Adv. 11 September 1858

the students, at a meeting held on 15 September 1858.¹ Several students had already offered to contribute a guinea a year and George Baker had promised £20 to such an object. Unlike the School of Design the Wedgwood Memorial Institute, as it became, involved the manufacturers, local people and not least the working men of Burslem.

Art was not the only subject for which a school was set up.

On 23 April 1855 the first meeting was held to discuss the formation of a class for the study of chemistry, a number of patrons had already been canvassed and support promised, after a lengthy discussion on the importance of chemistry to the manufactures of the district it was decided unanimously to establish such a class and a committee was appointed. They secured as patron Dr. Sheridan Muspratt, F.R.S., the founder of the College of Chemistry at Liverpool. The school opened on 1 October 1855, with Professor Leech of London as lecturer, in rooms fitted up with a laboratory at the back of Mr. Wood's timber yard at the Sytch. It was open on Monday and Wednesday evenings for Chemistry and other branches of science connected with the manufactures of the district and with mining such as mineralogy, geology and mechanics. The fee was £2 per annum and there were more than 20 intending pupils. During 1856 a course of six lectures was given in the Wesleyan school room by Thomas Leech of the School of Science on "The Chemistry of Common Things" which were air, water, earth, fire, explosives and food. The School was wound up in March 1859, the balance in hand of £12-7-7 (£12.38) was given to the Wedgwood Memorial Institute fund and the committee asked that a chemical class be established in the proposed Institute, which it was, although they had to wait until 1869 for the Institute to open.² The Burslem School of Science may not have had

1. S. Adv. 18 September 1858

2. S. Adv. 28 April 1855, 2 June 1855, 29 September 1855,
27 October 1855, 22 March 1856, 12 March 1859

widespread support and its fee was quite high, but it shows an increased interest in education, particularly education oriented towards the needs of the district. There was a greater realisation that 'rule of thumb' methods were more and more inappropriate and proper scientific methods and experiments were necessary for the future development of industry.

Wedgwood Memorial Institute.

The suggestion that a Burslem memorial to Josiah Wedgwood should take the form of a school of art and design proved popular in the town. A major public meeting was organized for 27 January 1859 with the Earl of Carlisle in the Chair. Nearly 1,000 people attended the meeting at which it was decided to "erect a public monument" to Josiah Wedgwood and to open a subscription for a public building to be called the 'Wedgwood Institute' which would comprise a "Library, a School of Art and a Museum". This was considered to be the most suitable memorial as it was both practical and useful.¹ It was also decided to ask the 'operatives' to form local committees to collect subscriptions, a general committee was also formed and the friendly co-operation of the other Pottery towns was sought. The last object was not so easily gained, Stoke had a plan for a statue and the Mayor of Hanley had already expressed disapproval of the project. There was some discussion in the local press as to whether both the Stoke and the Burslem plans would receive sufficient support as the same people would be expected to contribute to both schemes. There were compromise suggestions of an Institute with a statue in front, there was a suggestion of a colossal statue on Mow Cop and of a statue with a

1. School of Design Minute Book 20 January 1859; 24 January 1859
27 January 1859

self-supporting dispensary. There was a protest in a letter to the Times signed "A Cry from the Potteries" which described the conditions in the Potteries and thought that a better use for the money was the reduction of smoke and in the provision of almshouses for disabled potters.¹ This did not gain much support and both the Stoke plan for a statue and the Burslem plan for a library, school of art and a museum went forward. The statue in Stoke-upon-Trent was unveiled in February 1863 but the Wedgwood Memorial Institute was not officially opened until 1869 and even then the exterior decoration of the building was unfinished.

The whole of 1859 was involved with fund-raising and in 1860 the committee bought a site on Queen Street and a competition for the design was held. It was won by G. B. Nichols of West Bromwich and in November 1860 the committee applied for a Government Grant.² Construction of the foundations and a caretaker's house began in 1861 and the house was completed and ready in 1862. On 25 February 1863 a conference was held in the Town Hall at which Beresford Hope put forward his proposal of a prize of £25 for 'the best coloured sketch for an artistic treatment of the block facade of the adopted plans designed with a view of introducing the ceramic art of the Potteries.'³ The winners were Robert Edgar, an architect and John Kipling, modeller in pottery. In July 1863 a Government Grant of £500 was given for the School of Art; on 2 September 1863 a public meeting was held at which a motion proposing the adoption of the Public Libraries and Museums Act 1855 was passed almost unanimously and in October the Local Board of

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1. Wedgwood Institute Scrap Book (H.R.L.) Newspaper Cuttings
 2. School of Design Minute Book 25 July 1860; 8 August 1860;
19 September 1860; 31 October 1860; 1 November 1860
 3. Wedgwood Institute Minute Book 25 February 1863

Health took over the ownership of the site so they were able to levy a rate of one penny in the pound for the Institute.¹

The foundation stone laying took place on 26 October 1863 by the Rt. Hon. W.E. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The ceremony and the luncheon were a success but all the exertions of the committee in preparing for the event were such that they did not even meet until the following February and further subscriptions were slow in coming.

In August 1864 the financial situation was as follows:-

	£	s	d
Subscriptions actually received	£2,595	17	8
Amount expended on the site, buildings architect and incidentals	£2,257	4	0
Balance in Bank	£ 338	13	8
Good Subscriptions unpaid	£1,118	8	8
Government Grant	500	0	0
Two years' Penny Rate	440	0	0
Free School Trustees	800	0	0
	£3,197	2	4
Deficiency	803	0	0
Estimated further costs	£4,000	0	0 2

In 1865 there was a long dispute between the Committee and the builder and the architect which resulted in a different builder and architect completing the building. Until March 1866 there was no building done because of the dispute and then Robert Edgar was asked to take over the design of the Institute, external, internal, decorative and structural and in April 1866 re-building work was done on the foundations, but further work was delayed because of a protracted building strike, then it was autumn and the builder finally began in Spring 1867. By the Autumn of 1868 the roof was on the building and the final bill from the builder was over £4,000 as an

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1. Wedgwood Institute Minute Book 2 September 1863; Wedgwood Institute Scrap Book
 2. Wedgwood Institute Minute Book 25 August 1864

additional school-room and a staircase had been added. The decorative panels designed by Edgar and Kipling were modelled at South Kensington and the terra cotta panels were made and fired by Blanchard's of Blackfriars, London. Work began in May 1865 and continued until May 1871, most of the modelling being done by R.J. Morris, with William Wright and J.F. Marsh. Morris also agreed to model a statue of Josiah Wedgwood and some cresting to be erected over the porch. In September 1872 the last of the panels depicting the months, the portrait panels and the cresting were received and by November 1872 the statue was ready for manufacture though it was not sent to Burslem until July 1873.

The costs of the building and of the decorative work occupied the committee. In 1865 a major art exhibition was organised at Alton Towers, the seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, followed by a bazaar and fete and shortly afterwards a three-day bazaar at Burslem Town Hall. The proceeds from these events raised £1,850, but in 1869 the committee still needed some £1,500 and although they were very reluctant to borrow they applied to the Public Works Loan Commission for £1,000, which was granted. By 1871 £9,929 - 12 - 3 had been raised as follows:-

	£	s	d
Subscriptions	4,209	1	3
Five Years' Penny Rate	934	9	3
Government Loan	1,000	0	0
Alton Exhibition and Bazaar	1,850	0	0
Government Grant	800	0	0
Bazaar	1,136	1	9
	<hr/>		
	£9,929	12	3
	<hr/>		

The Clerk to the Local Board of Health, which by then comprised the Wedgwood Institute Committee plus keen citizens, reported to the Local Board:

'The Committee have unqualified satisfaction in congratulating your Board upon the completion after twelve years' work of a task, which always

arduous, has often been disheartening, but which has never failed to command the sympathies of all who desired the moral, material and educational advancement of the district.' ¹

The Institute housed a School of Art, a School of Science, the Burslem Free School (later the Endowed School), a public reading room and a free lending library. The library's main borrowers were in the age group 14 to 20 years old and the largest group by occupation was that of pressers and cupmakers, followed by engravers, modellers and gilders, then warehousemen and lodgemen and then clerks and office assistants. ²

The secretary of the Wedgwood Institute Committee for most of the building period was William Woodall and so great was public appreciation of his efforts and work that nearly £400 was raised in a testimonial. Woodall put the money towards the cost of building a small museum in the Institute and made up the other £600 of its cost out of his own pocket. The Museum was opened in 1879 with an exhibition of works by George Mason and James Holland. ³ The Museum received a number of gifts over the years including works by Enoch Wood and by Wedgwood. In the Library the penny rate could not be used to buy books so they had to rely on gifts and grants for their books.

The Institute was further extended in 1894 with donations of £1,000 each from James Maddock and Thomas Hulme(W); the only royal visitor in this period, H.R.H. Princess Louise, Countess of Lorne opened the new wings in October 1894. Even with the extensions and the removal of Burslem High School for Girls the building was too small for both the Schools of Art and Science and so a site on the opposite side of Queen Street was

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1. Clerk's Report to the Local Board of Health 1871
 2. " " " " " " " " 1871
 3. Burslem Newscuttings p. 74

presented by Thomas Hulme(W) and the new School of Art was opened by the Mayor in October 1907. The School of Art was fortunate in having George Theaker as its first head, followed in 1902 by Stanley Thorogood who developed a system of art education through Burslem schools.¹

The science classes were equally valuable, they were both day and evening classes, full and part time and consisted of chemistry classes, mechanics and technical drawings and in 1876-77 the only class teaching building construction in the Potteries. The classes were financed by student fees and Government Grants and from the 1890's by County Council grants. In 1897-98 the trustees of the Miss Jane Maddock Endowment offered 16 Science Scholarships and 24 Art Scholarships, with an allowance for materials, which widened the range of those able to train at the Schools of Art and Science.² The originators of the Wedgwood Memorial Institute could rightly feel proud, not only of a remarkable building, but of an enduring Memorial to Josiah Wedgwood and the training of students who would contribute to the ceramics industry and maintain its high standards. All the difficulties encountered in the years before it opened were considered well worthwhile overcoming.

Whilst the Wedgwood Institute catered for the more academic and those wanting to improve their education there were other leisure activities available in Burslem. The Local Board of Health disapproved of theatres, even during Wakes Week theatrical performances could only take place outside the district. It was not until 1881 that the Town

1. R.G. Haggard A Century of Art Education in the Potteries.

2. Wedgwood Institute - Reports of the Schools of Science and Art 1869-82 inclusive and 1897-98

Council gave its approval of a theatre when a Mr. J.W. Snape built the Britannia Theatre on Moorland Road. It did not last long because by 1884 it was being used as a mission hall.¹ The next theatre was opened in 1896, it was the Wedgwood Theatre Royal, a wooden building on the site of the 1911 Town Hall. The proprietors promised to conduct the theatre 'with scrupulous care and propriety'. Most of the shows were dramas played by various touring companies.² A cinema was built in 1910 just off the Waterloo Road to provide another form of entertainment, and in the same year a roller-skating rink with a 'cosy cafe and a good billiard saloon' was opened on the Waterloo Road.³

Not all entertainment was provided by professionals, Burslem, with the other Pottery towns was famous for its choral singing in this period. There had been church choirs using conventional music scores, but as few people could read music their membership was limited, there were also glee singers. Various methods of making sight-singing easy were developed, notably one by Hullah, but the method that really caught on was devised by a Miss Glover and developed by the Rev. John Curwen in the 1840's. In 1858 J.W. Powell tried out the tonic sol-fa method of Curwen and an immediate and enthusiastic convert to the system and he began training choirs with the method. Choirs he conducted were entered for the choral competitions organised by Curwen in London and came successively, third, second and first in 1861, 1862, and 1863. In 1863 the winning choir was met on its return to Burslem by a brass band, a reception at the Town Hall and a crowd of 8,000. The Messiah became an annual event until Powell's retirement from conducting because of ill health in 1874. The choir remained in abeyance until it was revived by

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1. Town Council Minutes 4 May 1881, 5 October 1881
S. Advertiser 31 May 1884
 2. S. Adv. 1 February 1896
 3. S. Adv. 14 May 1910, 12 March 1910, 20 August 1910

William Docksey, the singing instructor for the Burslem School Board. Under Docksey the choir won first prize at a Choral Contest at the Crystal Palace in 1884 and then three months later came first in the National Eisteddfod at Liverpool.¹ Choral singing was an important and established feature of Burslem life.

In 1859 a Volunteer Rifle Corps was formed and the Volunteers, started as a temporary reaction to fears of a French invasion, soon became well-established. There was great enthusiasm on the part of the Volunteers, though not everyone shared their view, a fortnight after over a hundred Volunteers had signed up and £500 been subscribed James Macintyre presided at a public meeting on the war with China and

'ridiculed the idea of an invasion and contended that mental and moral improvement and reform would be delayed if rifle corps and militia regiments became general and regretted that the prime movers in the formation of rifle corps were clergy - an unseemly perversion of a peaceful calling.'²

Indeed one of the prime movers in Burslem was the Rev. Dr. Armstrong, Rector of the Parish Church and an unrepentantly militant Irish Protestant. In 1860 the rifles arrived and were kept at the police station and the volunteers began to drill regularly, indoors in the Butchers' Market, outdoors on available open ground. As it was the sixth company to be formed in North Staffordshire it was known as the 6th Corps of the 1st Administrative Battalion and in the 1860s settled down to drill, rifle practice, musketry courses and reviews. In the 1870s they began to have camps and there was a change of uniform from grey to scarlet. The organisation of the Volunteers was changed in the 1880s, the 1st Administrative becoming the 2nd Consolidated Battalion (Stoke-upon-Trent) in 1880 and the 1st Volunteer Battalion

1. , J.W. Powell - History of Burslem Tonic Sol-Fa Choir
R. Nettel - The Englishman Makes Music
Local Newscuttings Volume 3 p. 92

2. James Macintyre of Macintyre & Company, door furniture manufacturer of the Washington Works - S. Adv. 17 December 1859

of the Prince of Wales's North Staffordshire Regiment in 1883, Burslem became 'C' company in the Battalion with 90 rank and file members and a captain in command. Several members of the Volunteers went out to South Africa during that war. In 1908 the Volunteers became part of the new Territorial Army and were the 5th Battalion North Staffordshire Regiment. What had started as a temporary force had become a permanent part of society.¹

Sporting activities in the 1850's consisted of cricket in the summer and in winter games like prison bars, which was a game played by teams which tried to capture each other. Football became firmly established with the foundation of the Port Vale Football Club in 1876, football had been played before but Port Vale was the first really successful club and in 1885 it turned professional. It used grounds at Longport, Westport Lake, Moorland Road and in 1886 they moved to the Athletic Ground, Cobridge where they did so well that they were elected to the Football League's Second Division in 1892. From then on they were greatly troubled by lack of finance and in 1896 returned to the Midland League until 1898. In 1900 the club was so in debt that they considered letting it die and the 'gate' had sunk from £94 for the previous season to £49 that season. However they struggled on until 1907 when it was formally wound up. It revived in 1909 with membership of the Central League and in 1911 moved to Hanley when the Cobridge ground began to suffer from subsidence. The survival of the Club was due to the enthusiasm of the few as it did not have the support of the many, but football as a game was increasingly popular.²

The other game that had considerable support was bowls, bowling greens were provided at the municipal parks and in 1900 the Cobridge

1. History of the Volunteer Force of Staffordshire 1859-1908
2. N. Gosling - The Story of Port Vale 1876-1950;
S. Adv. 31 March 1900

Bowling Green and Recreation Club was founded which not only had a bowling green but a bar, smoke-room, billard room and skittle alley.¹

The major holiday event of the year in Burslem was 'Wakes Week'. It was celebrated at the end of June, as it had originated as a holy day celebrating St. John the Baptist, the saint of the Parish Church. The manufactories were closed for at least three days, the week before was a time of major house-cleaning and during the week there were stalls and side-shows, and a funfair in the Market Place. Day excursions were organised and there were also longer trips to North Wales, to the Isle of Man and even to Ireland. Local traders and the manufactorers did not like the Wakes, firstly because the visiting stall-holders took the trade of the local retailers and secondly because the manufacturers lost so much production because each of the Pottery towns celebrated Wakes Week at different times, so that although they were closed for only three or four days they did not have their full work force for a period over some six weeks in the summer.² Some of them disapproved of the more vulgar aspects of the holiday as well, at a Local Board of Health meeting in 1852 W.S. Kennedy proposed a more cultural Wedgwood Festival which would be better than

'bag and donkey races, stir-pudding eatings and grinning through horse-collars and the consequent drunken orgies.'

The Local Board had received a memorial signed by 31 firms and one signed by about 50 tradesmen asking all the Wakes to be held in Stoke Wakes week. It was proposed to confer with Tunstall for the change, but Tunstall refused to act and so the existing situation continued.³

1. S. Adv. 7 April 1900

2. Tunstall Wakes was on the middle of July and Hanley, Stoke and Longton and Fenton Wakes the first week in August

3. Local Board of Health Meeting - S. Adv. 4 September 1852
9 October 1852.

The Wakes question was revived in 1879, the adoption of a single Wakes week was suggested by Town Councillors and at a public meeting it was proposed:

'That in the opinion of this meeting the frequent occurrence of Wakes throughout the Pottery towns is unsatisfactory, believing that one general Wakes for the district would be most conducive to the morality and material welfare of all, ¹ especially of the working classes.'

Within a fortnight a memorial had been sent to the Home Secretary asking for the abolition of the Burslem Wakes. The order arrived soon after and a new Wakes called the Potteries Wakes was to take place in the second week in July. The New Wakes was not popular, by April 1880 a motion to change the time was brought before the Council but was defeated and in August 1880 a memorial from a town meeting was received asking for the Wakes at the old time. In November a ballot was held and the voting was 'Old Wakes 1,560 votes, for the New Wakes 727 votes' and it was decided that Burslem Wakes Fair would commence on the Saturday before the first Sunday after the 24th June in each year and extend over the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of the following week.² However by the turn of the century the Wakes had lost some of their support and in 1906 the Council decided not to allow stalls in the Market Place and they were moved to a site on Moorland Road. The retention of the Old Wakes marked a success of the ordinary people of Burslem and ensured a longer holiday period even though it was not a very long lived triumph.

The most popular form of recreation was going to a beer or public house, and there were many to go to in Burslem, supplemented in the 1850's

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1. S. Adv. 12 April 1879
 2. Town Council Minutes 1 December 1880

by illicit whiskey shops which distilled home-made spirits, and drunkenness was the most common charge of those who appeared in the magistrates' courts.¹ There was a temperance movement to counter it which demanded at the most the prohibition of the liquor trade and at the least a restriction of the opening hours of public and beer houses and on the sale of liquor, such as Sunday closing and not selling to children under 16 years of age. In the 1850's there was much support in the temperance movement for the 'Maine Law' which meant the suppression of the liquor traffic.

Temperance societies were founded in Burslem and Daleshall and there was the 'Burslem Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance for the Total and Immediate Suppression of the Traffic in Intoxicating Drinks'. In 1856 the Band of Hope was introduced in Burslem and remained an important feature of church and Sunday School activities for the remainder of the period. Apart from attempts to encourage total abstinence it was recognised that a counter-attraction to the public houses had to be provided, particularly those with 'singing saloons', so sessions of temperance songs were held, visiting speakers held forth on the evils of intemperance and the advantages of total abstinence.²

In 1879 the Coffee-House Company Limited had been started by a number of local people to establish refreshment houses on temperance principles. The aim was to attract the working men by providing meals on the premises and to take-away, plus a news and reading room and games

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1. S. Adv. 23 February 1850; 15 November 1856 -
of the 23 cases that appeared before the stipendiary
magistrate (T.B. Rose) in one sitting, 12 were drunk
and disorderly, and drink was intimately connected
with six out of the remaining eleven.
 2. S. Adv. 26 April 1856; 22 November 1856

rooms which could be used as a club where the men could 'meet their friends and enjoy themselves with the utmost freedom consistent with good conduct and the proper regulations of the house.' The first such house was opened at 26 Market Place and was called 'The Borough Arms'.¹ Temperance alternatives to the beer and public houses did exist, but in 1907 there was one temperance hotel compared with 42 fully licensed premises and 102 licensed beerhouses.² With incorporation there was more local control over the issue of licences to sell drink and local polls of ratepayers could be held on the matter. By the turn of the century there were more restrictions on hours of opening and the number of outlets for beer and spirits had not increased at the same rate as the population. It was difficult to convince men of the need for abstinence when so many of them worked in dusty and hot conditions and were convinced that they could not do their jobs without drink.

The temperance movement was involved with politics because they were seeking a change in the law relating to alcohol and parliamentary candidates were expected to have views on the issue. Their most active involvement came in 1857 when Samuel Pope, a Salford town councillor was asked to stand in the General Election on the platform of total suppression of the liquor traffic. Pope withdrew before the contest, but in 1859 he stood but only received 569 votes from the whole Stoke-on-Trent constituency.³ Although temperance meetings could attract large and fervent crowds, the supporters of temperance's insistence of total prohibition alienated those who liked the occasional drink and pressure for legal prohibitions worried some who thought it was an interference with the liberties of the people. In the event the temperance movement was a minority activity in Burslem, though it

1. Burslem Newscuttings p.75 1 December 1879

2. Potteries and Newcastle Directory 1907

3. S. Adv. 28 March 1857; B. Harrison Drink and the Victorians
p. 242 - 245

focussed public attention on the problems of drink.

Politically the town was mainly Conservative in the 1850 s and 1860 s and in General Elections the Conservative candidate came top of the poll in Burslem though he may have come second or third overall in the whole constituency. This happened in 1852, in 1857, in 1859, in 1862, in 1865 but in a bye-election in 1868 the Liberal candidate received more votes than the Conservative and from then on the Liberal supremacy became established.¹ The latter Local Boards of Health and the Town Councils were dominated by the Liberals, only a few Conservatives being elected. Potteries members of parliament William Woodall and Enoch Edwards, and later Samuel Finney and W.E. Robinson were all Burslem men.

In the 1900 s the Labour party began to be represented on the Town Council and receive more support, but it was still in its early stages of development. There were other political groups, in 1851 a branch of the Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association was founded which attracted the town's Radicals, those who had supported the Chartist movement in particular.² A Ratepayers' Protection Society was started in 1860 and continued to be active, though a little sporadically, according to how much money the Local Board or the Town Council or the School Board or the Board of Guardians were spending.³ The Conservative and Liberal Clubs provided as much social and recreational interest as political activity except at General Elections, local elections involved local issues that cut across party lines or the voters elected the person, as all those elected were well known in the community.

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1. Poll Books - A List of Electors and How They Polled
 2. S. Adv. 31 May 1851
 3. S. Adv. 6 October 1860

Law enforcement was in the hands of the county police force under the Chief Constable, after the Chartist riots of 1842. There was no local control on the appointment of the local Police Superintendent. Although the Local Board and the Town Council were generally not unhappy with the situation conflicts did arise, in 1877 the Local Board demanded the removal of Superintendent Kelly after his refusal to 'preserve the peace and protect public property on the occasion of the recent Kenealy meeting'¹ and one of the arguments put forward in favour of incorporation was that a municipal borough had a Watch Committee to oversee the police, however with the creation of Staffordshire County Council the police force continued to be a county organisation. Most court cases were heard by a stipendiary magistrate, though in the 1870's several Burslem men were created Justices of the Peace for the County and in 1900 fifteen men were made magistrates for the borough of Burslem. Civil cases were heard in Hanley though in 1859 sittings were held in Burslem. Assizes were held in Stafford.

Dating from the days when law enforcement was inadequate was the Burslem Association for the Prosecution of Felons, many of the members were local traders and it became a society which held an annual dinner which was one of the highlights of the year. Arnold Bennett whose father was a 'Felon' gave one of the best descriptions of the Society and Burslem leaders in Clayhanger:-

'And down the long littered tables stretched the authority and wealth of the town - aldermen, councillors, members of the school board, guardians of the poor, magistrates, solid tradesmen, and solid manufacturers, together with higher officials of the borough and some members of the learned professions. Here was the oligarchy which, behind the appearance of democratic government, effectively managed, directed, and controlled the town. Here was the handful of people who settled between them

1. Local Board of Health Minutes 7 February 1877

' whether rates should go up or down, and to whom it did not seriously matter whether rates went up or down, provided that the interests of the common people were not too sharply set in antagonism to their own interests. Here were the privileged, who did what they liked on the condition of not offending each other. Here the populace was honestly and cynically and openly regarded as a restless child, to be humoured and to be flattered, but also to be ruled firmly, to be kept in its place, to be ignored when advisable, and to be made to pay.' 1

It is these aspects of Burslem that will be examined in the following chapters, for the members of the various boards and councils existed as a result of parliamentary legislation to tackle particular problems - public health, education, the poor, the conditions of factory workers. In dealing with the situation these men had to reconcile the religious establishment and the manufacturers who were the largest employers and the largest ratepayers as well.

1. A. Bennett Clayhanger Book 3 Chapter 15,II

POPULATION

	1851	1861	1871		1881	1891	1901
Burslem Township	15,954	17,821	20,971	North Ward	7,873	9,832	13,731
Rushton Grange Ville	1,901	2,652	3,299	South Ward	9,904	11,667	12,064
Sneyd Hamlet	1,254	1,128	1,292	East Ward	8,745	10,500	12,971
Local Board of Health	19,109	21,601	25,562	Municipal Borough	26,522	31,999	38,766
	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Burslem Parish							
Civil Parish	19,725	22,327	27,108	28,249	32,767	38,202	41,566

FIGURES FROM CENSUS TOTALS

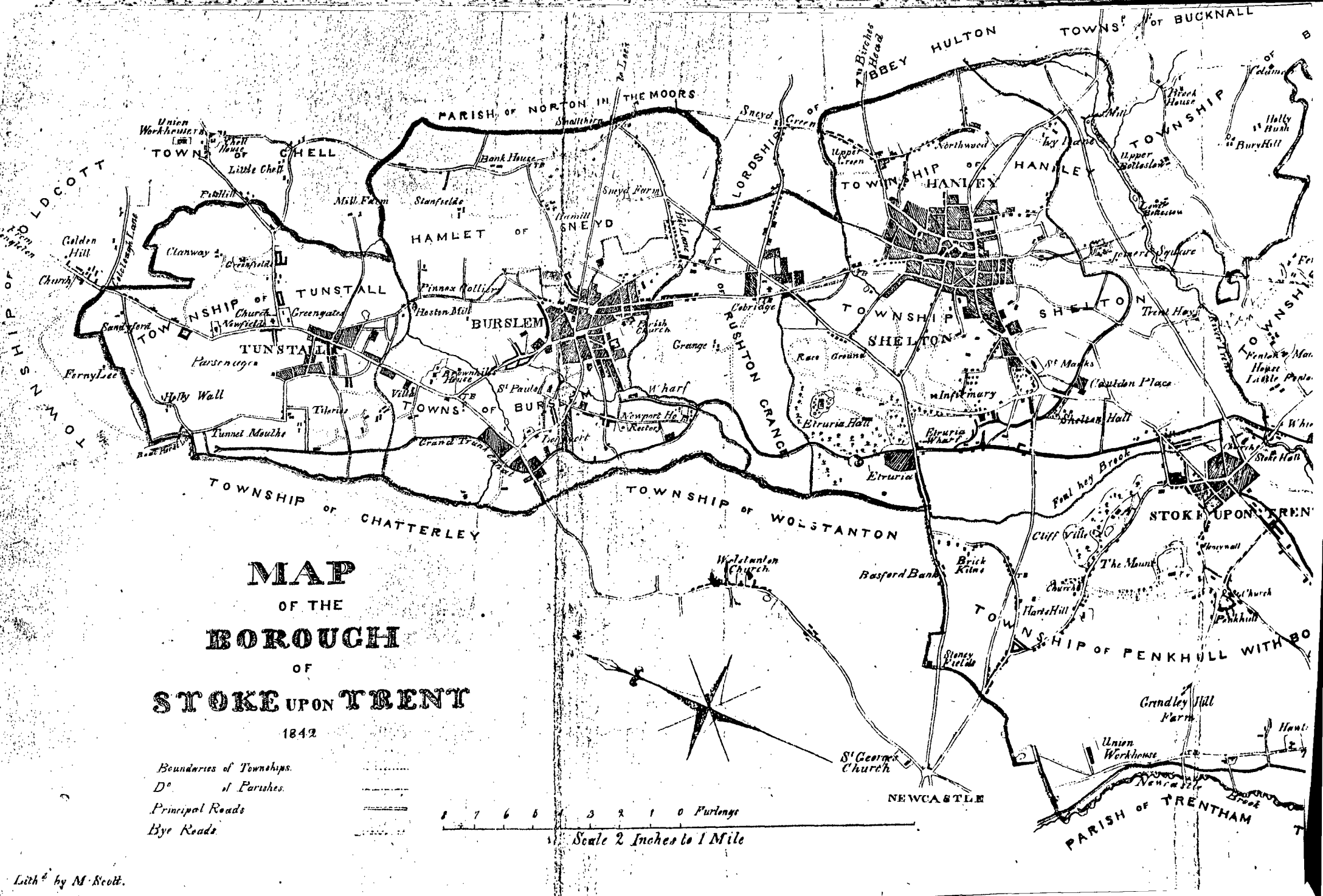
APPENDIX II

C H A N G E S I N S T R E E T N A M E S

(Nearly all changed after Federation to avoid duplication of street names
in the new County Borough)

<u>OLD</u>	<u>NEW</u>	<u>DATE OF CHANGE</u>
Abbey Street	Spa Street	
Albert Street	Hobson Street	
Albion Street	Harper Street	
Alfred Street	Winifred Street	
Arthur Street	Crane Street	
Bath Street	Wycliffe Street	
Beeche's Lane	Furlong Lane	1854
Birks Street	Wayle Street	
Bleak Street	Orgreave Street	
Bratt Street	Crossway Road	
Bridge Street	Milvale Street	
Brook Street	Longshaw Street	
Church Street	William Clowes Street	
Copeland Street	Astbury Street	
Derby Street	Kirby Street	
Duke Street	Reid Street	
Earl Street	Yale Street	
Forster Street	Woolrich Street	
George Street	Purbeck Street	
Hanover Street	Woodbank Street	
High Street	Greenhead Street	
Hill Street	Davison Street	
James Street	Travers Street	
Johnson Street	Federation Street	
King Street	Povey Street	

<u>OLD</u>	<u>NEW</u>	<u>DATE OF CHANGE</u>
Limekiln Lane	1) Alexandra Road	1910
	2) Scott Lidgett Road	
Mellor Street	Kelsall Street	
Peel Street	Porter Street	
Portland Street	Bulstrode Street	
Regent Street East	Zion Street	
Regent Street West	Baptist Street	
Ricardo Street	Elers Street	
Shoe Lane	1) Corporation Street	1880
	2) Wedgwood Street	
Union Street	Stirling Street	
Victoria Street	Hobart Street	
Ward Street	Duncalf Street	
Wharf Street	Burgess Street	
Wood Street	Card Street	
York Street	Minster Street	



MAP
OF THE
BOROUGH
OF
STOKE UPON TRENT
1842

Boundaries of Townships.
Do of Parishes.
Principal Roads
Bye Roads

1 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 Furlongs

Scale 2 Inches to 1 Mile

CHAPTER II

PUBLIC HEALTH AND UTILITIES

The nineteenth century was the period when it was fully recognized that health and ill-health were matters for public as well as private concern and that action taken by public bodies not only could be taken but should be taken and would influence the health of the private individual. Conditions in the rapidly growing industrial towns were bad, water came from easily polluted wells and streams; there were privies, cess pools and open drains; housing was of poor quality and over-crowded; often pigs were kept near the houses as people continued rural living practices in towns. That a close connection existed between poverty and insanitary conditions and the incidence of acute infectious diseases was beginning to be recognised and people such as Edwin Chadwick made the health of the people a cause for concern by national and local government, which by controlling conditions hoped to control the diseases.

Chadwick was mainly responsible for the 'Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain' for the Poor Law Commissioners in 1842. He also wrote or drafted much of the 'Reports of the Royal Commission on the State of Large Towns and Populous Places' (the Buccleuch Commission). For the first report, published in 1844, a questionnaire of some sixty inquiries was sent to most towns, including Burslem, and the replies were drawn up, in Burslem's case by a local committee from the Board of Guardians under the chairmanship of a local surgeon, Daniel Ball. They were asked about the state of the sewers, the state of the roads and footpaths, the provision of such services as water, lighting, cleansing, fire-fighting and on the existing local powers. The replies showed that there were inadequacies in the town, particularly in the courts

and alleys which housed the 'poorer classes', and which had 'stagnant pools and open ditches', 'accumulations of refuse' and were 'cleansed only by the inhabitants'. Water came from two private reservoirs and was supplied by taps for which the poorer people paid. The questions sent out by the Commission were designed to elicit such replies and could hardly fail to receive such responses, given the virtual non-existence of any regulations and the inadequacy of local legislation, including that of Burslem - where the only local Act of Parliament dated from 1825 and was concerned with the regulation of the markets and the lighting of an area not more than 700 yards from the Town Hall. The main roads were maintained by the Lawton, Burslem and Newcastle Turnpike Trust and the Leek Turnpike Trust.

For the second report Robert Slaney wrote a special paper The State of Birmingham and Other Large Towns.¹ He paid a personal visit to Burslem, Hanley, Longton, and Newcastle-under-Lyme, amongst other places. Slaney observed such conditions as open privies and over-flowing filth in Old and New Bag Street, an open sewer in Navigation Street and near the Parish Church there was a 'filthy open mudhole receiving sewers and filth in a populous neighbourhood'. Having read the replies of the local committees and observed conditions for himself Slaney drew a number of conclusions which he presented to the Royal Commission of the evils that arose from the lack of proper sanitary regulations:

1. 'Shortening the duration of the lives of the community'.
2. 'Disease, suffering and inability to work on the part of many who survive; the cause of great cost to the country'.

1. page 211, 231, 232.

3. 'Crime, theft, and the loss of property, which the police constantly point out as arising from these neglected classes.'
4. 'Riots, disturbances and drunkenness, which may generally be traced to the same class of persons, often to the same places.'
5. 'Great injury to the education of the poor, which is constantly neutralized in its good effects by the neglect and evils they see around them. The same observation applies to the inestimable advantages of religion and attendance on religious worship.'
6. 'Great discontent in some, and sluggish apathy in others, producing recklessness of conduct, indifference and want of attachment to the institutions of the country.'
7. 'The loss to the humbler classes of the cheapest, best and most enduring pleasures, viz. those arising between husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters - that pure source of happiness derived from mutual kindness, attachment and good offices, is, amid the hardening₁ and disgusting scenes described, almost destroyed.'

Although these were generalisations intended mainly for members of Parliament at the time when the violence that had erupted with Chartists demands was still fresh in their minds, there was a basis of fact. In 1851 the number of 40-45 year olds was nearly twice the number of 50-55 year olds and nearly four times the number of 60-65 year olds.² As a result of the cholera outbreak of 1848 there were 156 applications to the parish office for relief between July and September at a cost of £250.³ Yet in evidence to the Children's Employment Commission in 1841 it was the lack of education amongst parents and the employment of young children with adults that was

1. Slaney p.221

2. Census 1851

3. Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Inquiry into the sewerage, drainage and supply of water and the sanitary condition of the Inhabitants of the Parish in Burslem in the County of Stafford.
W. Lee C.E. p.19

blamed for the lack of family life and for crime, as well as the improvidence of people.¹ So, whilst Slaney saw the answer to the poor quality of life of the majority of people to be sanitary improvements, others saw the answer in better education or even the provision of savings banks. All those factors were attended to, but sanitary reform had more spectacular results and tackled a more immediately frightening problem, after all people died from cholera but not from illiteracy.

In 1846 the Nuisances Removal and Diseases Prevention Act was passed as a temporary measure designed to deal with epidemics. The major Act of Parliament was the Public Health Act of 1848 which placed the onus of establishing and maintaining standards of public health onto local authorities, new authorities being created for the purpose, backed by central government.

Neither Act saved Burslem from a nasty outbreak of cholera in 1849 in which 69 deaths from the disease were recorded, as well as 34 from diarrhoea, which might have been cholera. The first death occurred in June 1849 and the last fatal case in November 1849, with most deaths in July and August. The people most affected were the potters, colliers and labourers and their families and the localities that had the greatest mortality were Holehouse, with 11 deaths and Nile Street, Bourne's Bank and Pit Street with six deaths each; Greenhead, Kilncroft and Church Street had four deaths each.²

The cholera epidemic was the spur which prompted a petition for a public inquiry under the 1848 Public Health Act. However as Burslem

1. Children's Employment Commission - Appendix to 2nd Report VII 2. Reports from Sub-Commission Interviews Number - 217, 234, 237, 232, 233, 238.

2. Report on the Mortality of Cholera in England 1848-49 p.262

had a death rate over the seven years 1842-1847 exceeding 23 per thousand an inquiry would have been compulsory without the ratepayers' petition.

The Inquiry was held from 26th to 29th September, 1849 by William Lee, a civil engineer and a Superintending Inspector from the General Board of Health. He took evidence from three local medical men, from the Chairman of the Board of Guardians, the Clerk to the Guardians and the Inspector of Nuisances who had been appointed by the Guardians; from the assistant Surveyor of Highways, from a prominent local farmer, from residents of Cobridge and from the curate-in-charge of the parish. Lee also went on a tour of the worst areas listed by the witnesses and spoke to the people living in the courts and alleys, asking them about their living conditions, their water supply and their methods of sewage disposal. Lee recommended that a Local Board of Health be established to deal with the situation that he saw and described. His recommendations were accepted and a Local Board of Health was elected in September 1850 and remained in being until Burslem was incorporated as a borough in 1878.

In his report Lee described the town, its geology and meteorology, the population increase, the housing, the diseases and mortality, the existing situation of drainage, water supply, insurance of buildings, fires and the means of extinguishing them, the ventilation of streets and courts and the construction of houses and condition of the lodging houses. He also considered the condition of the roads, the burial grounds, the street lights and the gas works. He dealt with objections to the application of the Act and suggested remedies.

The area of the Inquiry was the township of Burslem, the ville of Rushton Grange, the hamlet of Sneyd and the lordship of Abbey Hulton, which was the extent of the parish of Burslem. The township of Burslem was nearly all built up with houses and factories, whilst both Sneyd and Rushton Grange had farmland and the Abbey Hulton was nearly all agricultural land, with some mining. Some of the difficulties of the district were attributable to the geology. The surface soil was poor and the subsoil was clay and undrained, this meant that water was absorbed by the clay until it became saturated and then any water from the rain storm or other source merely ran over the surface so that low-lying areas suffered from flooding:

'At the Flash, Holehouse and Longport the water gets into the houses and when it recedes it leaves them in a wretched condition. Such houses are generally damp and the occupants liable to pneumonic diseases included rheumatism.'¹

Once of the occupants of Hales Square reported that her house was frequently flooded out at times of heavy rain:

' "It runs quite through the house; we have to carry it out in byckets and the mudge lays up to the ankles." '²

Widow Llewelyn who lived at The Flash told William Lee that ' "My floor is very damp. The water has been in nearly a yard high." '³

However, the clay which caused these problems was exploited for the pottery industry, some of it being used for ware, but most of it for saggars. The result was a number of marl holes which when no longer in use were used as dumping grounds for refuse, mostly from the pot works. Once the holes were filled they were often built over, but the shraff provided a poor foundation for houses and roads and was to create problems in later years.

1. Lee's Report - p. 16

2. Lee's Report - p.22

3. Lee's Report - p.20

The main feature of the Inquiry was the drainage of the town, both for storm and rain water and for sewage. The deficiencies of the existing drains was clearly shown, sewers did exist but, as there were no plans showing where they were, repairs were difficult, they were of a variety of different sizes and they did not have traps which at the least caused unpleasant smells, at most caused them to blow up. Not many houses were connected to these sewers and on Waterloo Road the sewer had been blocked and diverted to the Cobridge Iron Foundry for use in the boiler, action which not only blocked the sewer but resulted in the boiler exploding and fatally injuring 2 workmen. The sewers were mainly intended to deal with rainwater and were near useless as a sanitary measure.¹

Virtually everybody had to use privies in conditions which ranged from unpleasant to vile. Some of the privies were linked to cess pools which formed a separate nuisance, some had to be emptied by hand. On one side of Waterloo Road the refuse from privies with closed cess pools overflowed onto open land and 'children when playing get up to the knees in it'.² At Hot Lane, Sneyd the houses had privies with open cess pools, this was found to be 'very offensive' and even worse, when it rained the refuse overflowed into a pit from which the inhabitants obtained water for washing. The Old Bag, a cul-de-sac in Dalehall, was particularly bad:

'Behind the property of Elijah Lucas and others there is a horrible stagnant ditch, giving off large quantities of sulphuretted hydrogen gas; it runs along the backs of 12 houses and all the drainage from them and their privies lies in a semi-fluid condition. The privies are foul, the surface of the yard bad, with manure heaps from stinking piggeries and the water for cleansing is, obtained from an uncovered well on the premises.'³

The New Bag was no better:

1. Lee's Report - p.24 and 22

2. Lee's Report - p.21

3. Lee's Report - p.22 - 23

'a narrow street, all the privies in front of and close to the houses on both sides. The night-soil oozes out through the walls and runs along the public footpaths. There is no sewer and the refuse finds its way along the surface channels into a pool by the roadside near the bottom of the street. The stench is very bad and all the people ... looked pallid and unhealthy.'¹

Even newly built houses had bad conditions such as those in Pleasant Street, a misnomer as it was:

'entirely built on land that has been raised by absorbent rubbish from the Potteries: the houses have cesspools. There is no sewer or underground² drain and the soil is now saturated with refuse.'

Not all houses had cess pools, in Adam's Court in Kilncroft Mrs Thomas Ford, one of the occupants described what happened:

' the privies have to be emptied through the houses, and the stuff carried out in buckets; we pay the men 3d per time and it is emptied about once in three months. It is taken out about 11 o'clock at night and there is a very unpleasant stench³ but we set the windows open as soon as we can.'

The people who lived in those conditions were clearly aware of them and their sense of smell had not become anaesthetized. At the Holehouse where there had been 35 cases of cholera and six deaths from cholera, a girl whose parents and a sister had died and who had herself been ill of cholera explained:

"We had a privy against the end of the house. That privy was also against a pottery flue and there was such a heat that it used to bake the filth, and make it boil and stink. We could smell it so bad in the house that we could hardly eat a bit of meat." '⁴

Widow Bentley who also lived at the Holehouse complained that ' "At times the stench is so bad it is enough to knock a horse down." '⁴

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1. Lee's Report - p.23
 2. Lee's Report - p.21
 3. Lee's Report - p.13
 4. Lee's Report - p.21

William Lee inspected those places where cholera and typhoid were known to have caused illness and death and in all cases the privies, cess pools and drains were in a particularly bad state, even the town centre with its much more expensive property was badly served, six houses with shops had a total annual rental of £255, yet there was only one 'offensive privy for them all'. Even though the Market Place was on one of the higher points of the town drainage was virtually non-existent:

'The filthy water has to be pumped out of the cellars of the Old Crown Inn across the footpath. Mr. William Copeland, wood-turner, has a drain from the privy through the passage and into the surface channel of the street. Mr. Taylor, grocer, and the Nelson Inn are drained in the same way to the street. Mr. Timmis, stationer and his neighbours have no drainage. The privies are foul and several empty into an open cess pool. The whole remains stagnant and yet the inclination of the surface is one in 12. Mr. Gleaves, bootmaker, has to carry all the refuse and washings out of his premises and pour them on the surface.'

Lack of sanitation was only part of the Inquiry undertaken by William Lee, but the connection between the infectious and contagious diseases of cholera, typhoid and typhus fever and the appalling conditions to be found was noted and stressed. Housing conditions were examined and Lee saw the dilapidation of old cottages and overcrowding in newer ones. As common lodging houses were specifically controlled by the Public Health Act he inspected 13 of them when the inmates had gone to bed. In one house he found eight persons in three beds in one small room, in another room in the same house he found seven males and six females in six beds. In another lodging house he found nine males and four females in five beds with only 59½ cu.ft. of breathing space each, and in a very small room there were five persons in two beds. Lee described and commented on the situation that he found:

1. Lee's Report - p. 24

'These wretched people generally sleep in a state of nudity, their filthy clothing is thrown over them for warmth, every crevice that could admit the external air into the room carefully stopped up.

Contagious and infectious diseases are engendered in these places and thence spread amongst the inhabitants of the town. The persons who resort to such places generally lead idle, dissolute lives, preying on the community at large, rather than earn an honest livelihood it must be evident that a due regard to public health imperatively requires that these lodging houses should be placed under the surveillance of a proper local authority and subject to licence and inspection as to the cleanliness of the rooms, the number and character of the occupants and their general sanitary condition.'

It was uncommon for Lee to comment on people's characters, he normally described what he saw for himself or quoted what local witnesses told him on specific features such as the disposal of sewage or water supply. He was a strong supporter of the Public Health Act and its application, and in the case of Burslem, most people agreed with him.

There were no objections to the application of the Act to the township of Burslem or the hamlet of Sneyd, but there were objections from the ville of Rushton Grange and the lordship of Abbey Hulton. The Hanley solicitor, Edward Challinor, represented the objectors who also submitted a long memorandum. Lee accepted the objections from the lordship of Abbey Hulton as it was mostly agricultural land with a population of some 800 in 1,600 acres and did not have the problems of the other parts of the parish. Lee did not accept the objections of the Rushton Grange residents, although he proposed some safeguards for them. One of the reasons put forward for the exclusion of the ville from the provisions of the Public Health Act was that it was already adequately drained and sewered because it was on top of a hill. This

1. Lee's Report - p.29 - 30

was a selfish reason because the effluent drained down, either towards Burslem and the brook at the bottom of the dip, or it drained towards Hanley. In both cases the people who lived at the foot of the slopes received the sewage from both sides. Evidence had shown that Cobridge was not well drained, the one sewer had been blocked and John Pidduck, an ironmonger, whose house had the only water closet in the ville still had to use the cess pit. The objectors claimed that the Nuisance Removal Act was sufficient as their population was less than 2,000 but Lee pointed out that it would soon exceed 2,000. There was some apprehension that Burslem would overwhelm Rushton Grange and treat the area unfairly. Lee dealt with this by recommending that the district had its own representatives on the Local Board of Health and that the General Board of Health should protect weaker interests, the ville could also be rated separately. However, the factor that lay behind these objections was that the inhabitants of Rushton Grange paid no rates and the Public Health Act meant they would have to pay rates for services some of them thought they did not need and for services in Burslem, of which they disapproved. These special conditions were also applied to the hamlet of Sneyd.

However, much of the evidence taken by Lee showed that the Public Health Act was favourably viewed:

'Joseph Walker, surgeon ... "I am decidedly of the opinion that the sanitary improvement of the localities would improve the habits of the people. I know something of the provisions of the Public Health Act and from my experience here, am of the opinion that its application to the parish of Burslem would be very beneficial to the inhabitants." ' 1

1. Lee's Report - p.15

' Daniel Ball, medical officer for the Poor Law Union ... "I do not think that any of the diseases enumerated(cholera, typhoid, typhus)are entirely preventible by sanitary measures alone. Such means must be aided by improvement in their their habits and morals. I consider that their physical condition and their social and moral condition act and react upon each other as cause and effect and should therefore expect a great improvement to take place in their social and moral condition from the construction of efficient sanitary works." ' ¹

'Samuel Goddard, also a medical officer for the Poor Law Union ... "I can have no doubt that the consequent improvements in the habits of the people, would tend much to decrease the amount of the poor rate." ' ²

The Chairman of the Board of Guardians, George Baker, that

"I have no hesitation in saying that the ratepayers have a very great interest in this question, inasmuch as improved health would decrease the poor rates." ' ³

Not everyone took quite such a mercenary view of public health measures, the curate-in-charge of the parish, the Rev. H. W. Gleed Armstrong, stated:

"I connect the low state of morality among the working population with their lamentable physical condition, having, during an experience of 22 years as a parish clergyman, always found the latter to have a manifest effect upon the former; and whenever circumstances have arisen calculated to improve their physical condition. I have always found increased facilities for the exercise of my pastoral office. I do not think the people are naturally dirty; the untoward circumstances in which they are placed have caused their present state. ...I am sufficiently acquainted with the Public Health Act to know that it provides remedies for many of the evils I have enumerated (lack of water, of drainage, defective sewers) and I have long been anxious for its application to the parish of Burslem." ⁴

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1. Lee's Report - p. 16
 2. Lee's Report - p. 17
 3. Lee's Report - p. 19
 4. Lee's Report - p.26

Mr. Armstrong did not have to wait very long. With the almost unopposed criticism of existing conditions Lee had no hesitation in recommending the application of the Act. Burslem had suffered from epidemic diseases, including cholera, the rate of mortality in June 1849 had risen to 27.5 per 1,000, many people worked in unhealthy conditions, the water supply was inadequate, older cottages were dilapidated, lodging houses were harmful to health and morals, the privies were 'disgusting'. Lee did not limit himself to criticism of existing conditions, he made a number of suggestions for improvements, not all of which could be carried out at the time. He wanted the abolition of all privies, with their replacement by a soil-pan apparatus and proper underground drains, he wanted improved paving of streets and surface cleansing and he calculated that the cost for drainage would be just over 1d per week for a cottage, and for paving and cleansing at just under a 1d per week. Having installed drains and sewers Lee proposed that the sewage could be disposed of by channelling some of it to the Foul Hay brook¹ and pumping the rest onto barges to be sent out of the district and be used to fertilize agricultural land. He made the point that the cost of the sanitary improvements would be off-set by the amount saved by a reduction in preventable sickness and mortality.

The body to carry out the provisions of the Public Health Act and remedy many of the deficiencies of Burslem was to be the Local Board of Health. The Provisional Order for the application of the Public Health Act was signed on 2nd August 1850 and the Act confirming the Provisional Orders was passed on 15 August 1850. No time was wasted and the first election for a Local Board was held on 25

1. Also spelt Fowlea Brook

September, just a year after Lee's inquiry and of Burslem Lee had said that 'nowhere had he met with more respectful attention and kindness in the discharge of his official duties.'¹

The new Local Board had 15 members, nine for the township of Burslem and three each for the ville of Rushton Grange and the hamlet of Sneyd. The chairman of the Local Board was also the Chief Bailiff of the Local Board's district; the title had been changed from Chief Constable to avoid confusion with the police force. Whilst all rate-payers had the vote, qualifications for membership, apart from being elected, meant that only the wealthier inhabitants were eligible - each person had to be:

'resident and be seised and possessed of real or personal estate or both to the value of not less than £1,000; or shall be so resident and rated to the relief of the poor of some parish, township or place of which some part is within the said district upon an annual value of not less than £30.'²

The change-over from the Market Trustees and the Boards of Surveyors for Burslem and Sneyd proceeded fairly smoothly. The main objector being John Ward, secretary to the Market Trustees who complained that their local Act of Parliament 6 Geo IV cap 131, an Act for regulating the Markets at Burslem, for lighting, regulating the police and watching Burslem, the villes Longport, Cobridge, Sneyd Green with parts adjacent, had been 'cut into shreds by the Public Health Act'.³ Ward did not have much support and in the election by the Local Board members of a clerk he received only three votes.

All the places on the new Local Board were fought for, top of the poll in Burslem was Elijah Hughes, an earthenware

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1. Staffordshire Advertiser 1 June 1850, at the conclusion of a second inquiry into the boundaries of the new Local Board and the exclusion of Abbey Hulton
 2. Lee's Report - p. 48
 3. S. Adv. 14 September 1850, report of the final meeting of the Police Commissioners

manufacturer of Cobridge who had opposed the inclusion of Rushton Grange in the Local Board district, he would ensure that the interests of his area were safeguarded. The first Local Board was composed of eight Liberals, six Conservatives and one Independent.

At its first meeting the Board elected a clerk, Joseph Lowndes, who was the clerk to the Board of Guardians, a surveyor, Ralph Hales who was a partner in his brother's iron foundry which had been criticized in Lee's report. Messrs. Alcock who had a local bank, were appointed the treasurers and the local police superintendent, Thomas Povey, was appointed Inspector of Markets and Lodging Houses, Fire Brigade. They did not appoint an Inspector of Nuisances nor an Officer of Health until 1851.

The provision of proper sewers and drains was a slow affair. The preparation of a detailed plan of the district by the Ordnance Survey took until December 1851 and plans for the sewerage scheme took even longer, with three sets being prepared over 1853 and 1854. It was not until January 1855 that the plans, section, specifications, quantities and estimates were ready to be put out to contract. Some small scale work was done during that year but it was not until November 1855 that tenders were accepted and work finally began on 25 March 1856. Unfortunately it coincided with a period of trade depression and the Crimean War so some members of the Board wanted to defer the scheme because of the extra burden it imposed on the ratepayers. In fact the rates went up by 6d (2½p) in the pound; the sewerage rate was actually 8d, but the ratepayers had been promised that rates would not rise by more than 6d so the general rate was cut by 2d from 2s (10p) in the pound to 1s 10d.¹

1. Annual Reports of the Local Board of Health 1851 - 1871

A variety of sewerage systems in Croyden, Lambeth, Tottenham, Rugby and Coventry had been investigated by a deputation from the Local Board in May 1853 and they had recommended a system of house and closet drainage with provision for surface water and street drainage using a system of pipes of eight inches to fifteen inches and brick sewers of over fifteen inches in diameter.¹ They wanted the abolition of all privies and cess pools throughout the district, with closets instead, the pans and syphons to be made of earthen- or stone-ware, which they suggested could be made in the district by local manufacturers, though this suggestion was not taken up and the expanding market for glazed drainage pipes and sanitary ware was not entered except by Pinder, Bourne & Co. at the Nile St. Works and after the 1880's by Doultons at the same works. The drainage pipes used in Burslem in the 1850's came from a Liverpool firm, but deliveries were late and many had to be rejected because of their inferior quality. The problem of the ultimate disposal of the sewage was only briefly considered, there was no way of deriving a revenue from it, and Lee's suggestion of removing it on canal barges could not be taken up. They assumed that it would flow into the Fowlea Brook and be diluted by the diversion of existing natural streams into the drains.

These recommendations were fairly closely followed, but there was continuing prejudice against water closets. The professional experts - the Consulting Engineer, who was, William Lee, the Surveyor and the Officer of Health, Samuel Goddard all made strenuous efforts to convince the doubters of the value and efficacy of a water closet system. In June 1857 there was a public meeting at which the first

1. Report of a Deputation which visited Croydon, Lambeth, Tottenham, Rugby and Coventry - May 1853

resolution stated 'strenuous opposition to the enforcement of construction of water closets'.¹ On the Local Board this point of view had a supporter in Thomas Whittingham who wanted to rescind the indiscriminate adoption of water closets and said in September 1857 that the system 'was only a theory and known to have failed'.² The Local Board made the concession of allowing an appeal before a compulsory order was made. This was not the end of the matter, in 1858 a George Beardmore requested permission for privies with cess pools for nine new houses with the option of water closets later - he was turned down as the Local Board was unanimously in favour of water closets for new properties.³ In 1859 new houses in Middleport were allowed to have a trapped water privy of a type in use in Bristol, as an experiment. These were admitted to be a failure the following year and the Inspector of Nuisances even thought that privies and cess pools were preferable to the Bristol system. In February 1868 the bye-law that every house in the district should have a water closet, either immediately in the case of sewerage works being constructed, or a supply of water being made available, or as soon as sewerage of water was available, was rescinded. In its place the Local Board decided on acceptable plans for cess pools and some property continued to have privies and cess pools into the twentieth century.⁴ Of course it did not stop householders from having water closets installed but it removed the element of compulsion.

The opposition to water closets was not just prejudice against a new system, they were more expensive, both to install and in running costs as the Staffordshire Potteries Waterwork Company charged an extra 10s a year for water closets, though this was reduced in 1853

1. S. Adv. 27 June 1857

2. S. Adv. 5 September 1857

3. S. Adv. 5 June 1858

4. Annual Reports of the Local Board of Health 1851 - 1871

for lower rated houses.¹ Water closets were sited outside the houses so were adversely affected during heavy frosts, as happened in the winter of 1854 - 55. However the major drawback was the inconstant supply of water. The cost of installation and the poor water supply were the major drawback to the aim of removing all privies and cess pools in the district.

The sewerage works were completed in 1858 at a cost of £14,096-10-8 and 8,660 yards of brick sewers, 25,571 yards of pipe sewers and 33 yards of iron sewers or a total of 19 miles 824 yards had been constructed.²

The aspect of sewerage that had received insufficient consideration beforehand was the disposal of the sewage. One outfall of the sewage was the Burslem branch canal at Longport, the North Staffordshire Railway Company who owned the canal promised to build a filter on the outfall so that only the liquid would enter the canal and the thicker matter would be carried onto farmland. Only months after the completion of the works there were complaints of the stench from the canal, though it was Tunstall's sewage that was blamed. The following summer the canal basin at Burslem wharf was being described as 'most offensive' mainly because the Railway Company was not filtering the sewage.³ The people of Stoke-upon-Trent who were at the downstream end of the Fowlea Brook, which by then was carrying sewage from Tunstall, Burslem and Hanley, were unhappy with the situation and the Stoke Commissioners asked all the Pottery towns to consider the question of a general outfall sewer for the entire district, with a deodorising works, but nothing transpired from this initiative. In 1861 the Duke of Sutherland entered the picture, his

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1. Staffordshire Potteries Water Works - Report on the Progress of undertaking - Liddle Elliot, engineer 1857
 2. S. Adv. 10 September 1858
 3. S. Adv. 2 July 1859; 9 July 1859

home at Trentham was on the River Trent which was receiving sewage and other pollution from the whole of the Potteries. Efforts by the Duke of Sutherland to stop the pollution of the Fowlea Brook and the River Trent continued for many years.¹

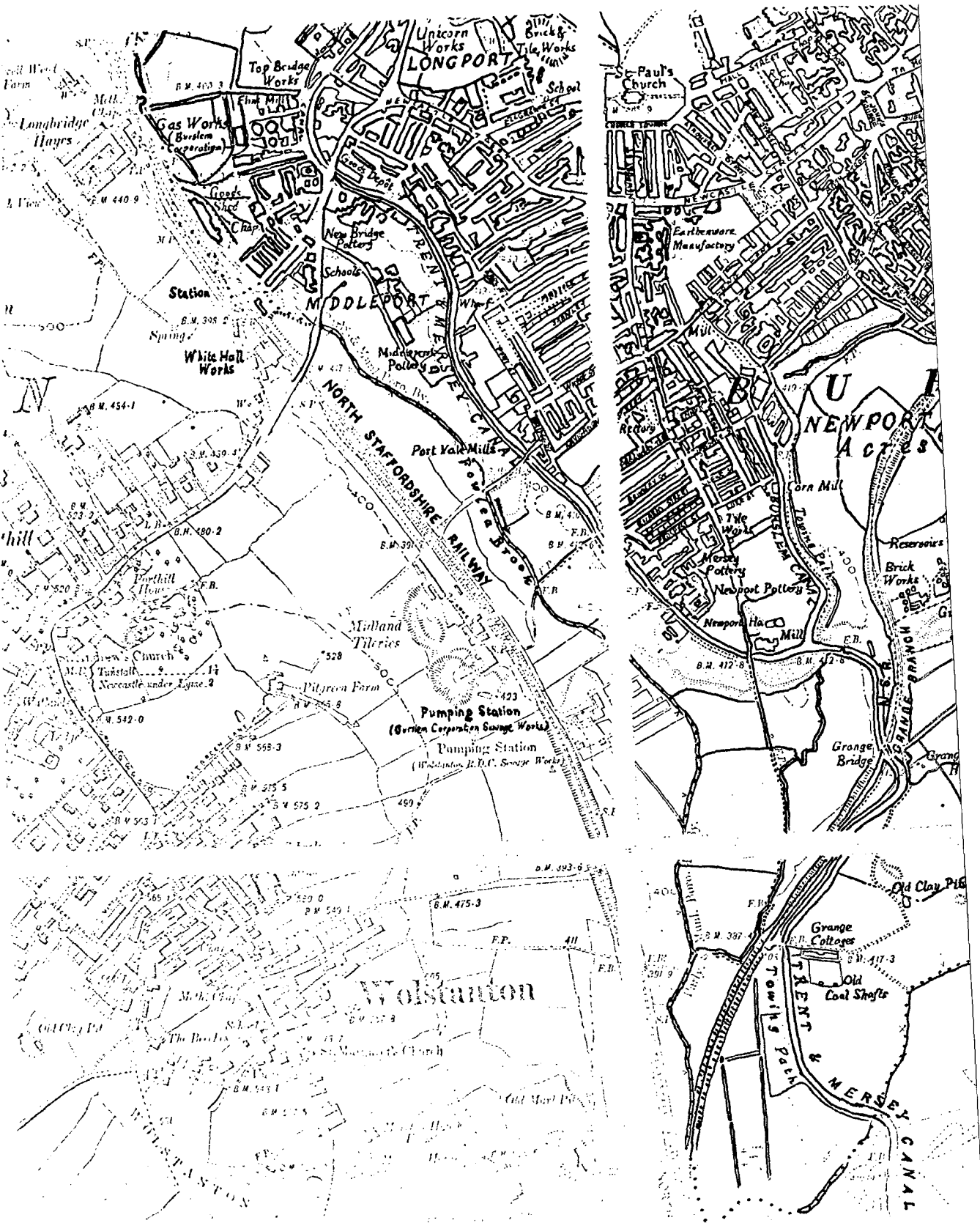
Having laid some 20 miles of sewers the Local Board rather rested on their laurels and a Government Inspector who paid a visit in 1872 found much to criticize. He found that the 'privy nuisance ... pervaded the town universally', even where there had been water closets he found that the water was 'no longer connected, or the pan was broken' so that they were 'worse than open privies' and as the privies he had seen were 'most wretched' then conditions in some parts of the district were indeed appalling. The Inspector of Nuisances accompanied Dr. Ballard, the Government Inspector, on his investigation and came in for the severe comment:

'the Inspector (of Nuisances) had no very clear idea of what a nuisance was and if he had, did not seem to consider it his duty to get rid of it.'

Dr. Ballard considered that the Local Board were not using the powers they possessed to the full under the Nuisances Removal Act, he also recommended that a hospital for infectious diseases be provided, he mentioned smallpox and scarlet fever, particularly because scarlet fever had caused 92 deaths in one year in Burslem. Dr. Ballard thought that the private roads in the town were 'in a very disgraceful state' but the public highways for which the Local Board had direct responsibility were sometimes no better, High Street was 'in a very disagreeable condition' and the Back Sytch had 'a privy in the middle of the roadway'. In reply the Local Board promised to be 'more vigilant'.²

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1. Annual Reports - Local Board of Health 1851 - 1871; Surveyors Report 1860; Clerk's Report 1861
 2. Staffordshire Sentinel 22 June 1872 - in Burslem News Cuttings p.1

SOUTH-WEST BURSLEM



O.S. 1:10,560 Six inches to one mile

1900

In November 1876 the Local Board decided to dispose of the town's sewage by irrigation over farmland, taking advantage of the 1867 Act for Facilitating the Distribution of Sewage Matter over Land and otherwise. The Local Government Board held an inquiry in April 1878 and authorised the expenditure and the scheme was opened on 16 December 1879. It was Bradwell Hall Farm on the Wolstanton side of the Fowlea Brook, south of Middleport. The sewage flowed by gravitation into the Longport valley, it went into a tank and from the suction well it was pumped up a rising main for two miles and then distributed over the 314 acres of the farm. This scheme cost some £30,000 but new works were opened to process the sewage in 1908 at a cost of £40,000 as the sewage farm was not thought a successful method. This relieved the problem of the pollution of the Fowlea Brook and lifted the threat of legal action by the Duke of Sutherland.¹

Not everyone was connected to the drainage system and large numbers still had privies and cess pools. The disposal of their sewage depended upon local farmers collecting the night-soil between 10 p.m. and 5.a.m. each night. In 1855-56 the Inspector of Nuisances reported that 1,467 tubs of night-soil had been collected and that the Cheshire farmers and others found it a valuable compost. In 1867 a new Inspector of Nuisances reported that the town scavengers were having to remove the night-soil themselves as 'for nearly a fortnight not a single farmer has applied for a night-soil list'. The night-soil was taken to the Oxney, open ground on the north-east of the town, where it was mixed with the ashes collected by the scavengers. Reliance on the 'casual coming of farmers' continued to

1. Kelly's Directory 1908 p.83; Staffordshire Advertiser
27 June 1908, 3 Oct. 1908

to be unsatisfactory as they made their own selection and did not have to cleanse places that the Inspector of Nuisances considered needed cleansing. In 1870-71 local farmers had to be persuaded by small subsidies to remove night-soil and the Inspector reported that 'privies have frequently to remain uncleansed a length of time after they really need it'.¹

A Government Inspector in 1886 found less to complain of, in the newer parts of the town the drainage was being carried out 'according to modern ideas', but cess pits still formed a part of the system and these were as obnoxious as ever:

'Privy cess pits led to the storage of filth for a lengthened period in close proximity to houses and in a number of confined courts in the older parts of the town these were found in such clusters as to be really dangerous to health. It was important that this objectionable and dangerous matter should be speedily removed from close proximity to dwelling houses. ... These cess pits could seldom be thoroughly cleaned out and the consequence was that houses were never free from the effluvia from such places. He had met instances where the cess pits reached under the floors of the houses.'²

The water closet system was again recommended although with the provisos of a good sewerage system and an ample water supply, he even suggested that an instructor should be appointed to look after the closets and not allow people to use them as they liked. He criticized the system of putting the removal of refuse out to contract as the work would be done 'as rapidly and cheaply as possible'. He thought the Corporation should undertake the scavenging themselves. Some things were praised, the pavements were 'exceptionally good', the common lodging houses were 'clean', the bakehouses, dairies and milkshops that he had seen were 'exceedingly well regulated and kept'. The town's sanitary committee stated their 'willingness to carry out as far as practicable anything

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1. Annual Reports, Local Board of Health - Inspector of Nuisance's Reports.
 2. Burslem News Cuttings p.136 report of 18 September 1886

... suggested for the health of the town, an object they had steadily in view.'

Further progress was slow, there were complaints in 1890 of the nuisance of night-soil carts in the day time and in 1907 there were still 1,435 cess pools in the town.¹

By 1908 Sir James Chrichton Browne, who opened the sewage treatment works, hoped it saw the end of

"waterlogged, slop-saturated ground, rat
haunted middens, fly infested ashpits,
leaking cess pools, broken traps, rickety
drains"

as they "depressed bodily vigour and induced mental misery." ²

The local authorities in Burslem did tackle the problems of sewage and drainage, albeit rather cautiously and slowly after the initial enthusiasm. The aim of these works was to reduce the incidence of the major infectious diseases of cholera, typhoid fever, typhus and dysentery, yet did they have the desired effect? The book of Registration Records kept by the Registrars of Births and Deaths in the Burslem Sub-district from 1847 to 1930 survives.³ It records the numbers of male and female births and deaths, the infectious diseases and the children's diseases, though the record is less complete. From 1870 the deaths are differentiated by age group into those under one year, those aged one to 60 years and those over 60 years. In each case the figures were kept for a quarter of the year at a time, to 31 March, 30 June, 30 September and 31 December. There were a few ambiguities the Registrar sometimes wrote 'typh' without distinguishing between typhoid and typhus, and between 1870 and 1890 the very general term 'fever' was used, which

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1. Burslem Newscuttings p. 163 report of 3 September 1890 and Local Newscuttings Volume 5 page 37 - June 1910 Domestic Drainage and Vital Statistics - Burslem'
 2. S. Adv. 3 Dec 1908
 3. Registration Records, Accounts etc. 1847 - 1930
Registrar of Births and Deaths, Burslem Sub-district

could apply to several diseases. However it is possible to distinguish some trends.

Cholera was recorded as a cause of death on only a few occasions, and then usually as a single death, though by far the worst year, after the 1849 epidemic, was 1899 when nine died.¹ The level of typhoid deaths appeared to remain fairly constant at between 10 and 20 over the whole period, which is a decline in absolute terms as the population more than doubled in the 1850 to 1910 period. Typhoid could be prevented and controlled if sufficient effort was made. In 1902 there were 14 cases of typhoid in one street in Cobridge so all the drains were removed and relaid, the house cellars were repaved and concreted and there was not a single case subsequent to the work. Yet in 1908 there were 20 cases in 20 different houses and only two of the houses had proper water closets, in 1909 there were cases in 32 houses, only three of which had sanitary water closets and four of which had cess pools. By that time the causes of the disease were known and both preventative and remedial measures could have been taken, but the response of the local authority was to disallow the building of new houses without water closets, a measure that had existed in 1851. The Local Boards and then the Corporation's disinclination to insist, against expert advice, on proper water closets for every property subjected the population to unnecessary suffering from typhoid fever.²

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1. Cholera - a bacterial disease transmitted via infected water, contaminated by the excreta of a cholera victim, other means of infection were by fruit and vegetables sprinkled with infected water, milk, cooked meat, contact with a victim. The mortality in an epidemic was high but outbreaks came to an end of their own accord. Controlling the incidence of outbreaks was best done by ensuring the purity of the water and its non-contamination by sewage.
 2. Typhoid - also called enteric fever, so common as to be endemic. Bacterial in origin transmitted in the water supply, also found in mild and milk products. The bacteria survives drying and freezing and will last for months in clothes and materials. Only boiling kills it. Usually attacks adults and older children. Victims can become carriers sometimes without apparently being ill, and can transmit typhoid to others.

Typhus fever does not appear to have many deaths, but as the symptoms were similar to those of typhoid the numbers may be greater than the fewer than ten a year reported up to 1870.¹ Dysentary and diarrhoea was by far the greatest killer. The infant population suffered most from diarrhoea which could reach epidemic proportions in the summer months and accounted for the majority of all infant deaths. Of the quarterly figures for Burslem the maximum number of deaths from diarrhoea was 11 for the first quarter, 14 for the second, 70 for the third quarter of July, August and September, and 22 for the fourth quarter. Twenty out of the 50 recorded summer quarter figures were for 30 or more deaths. Infantile diarrhoea was not a matter so much of improved sanitation but of standards of hygiene as a baby could be infected by another child or by infected milk, eggs, water, uncooked foods or develop diarrhoea when suffering from another illness, pneumonia or a respiratory infection usually; once ill dehydration and collapse followed quickly. It was not until the twentieth century that the death rate from that cause declined.²

Common childhood diseases, diphtheria, measles, scarlet fever and whooping cough were responsible for much of the illness of infants and children and led to the early death of substantial numbers, both from severe forms of the diseases and from complications arising from the illness. Children in a poor state health would have had less chance of survival, especially in the overcrowded conditions which facilitated the spread of the diseases.

Diphtheria was listed in the Registrar's records from 1859 but was not consistently mentioned until the 1890 s. It may be that it

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1. Typhus - caused by a virus, transmitted from the human louse to people, destruction of the louse and lice - infested clothing and bedding controls the disease. A high mortality especially in those over 40 years. One variety is transmitted by fleas.
 2. Dysentary - caused by a number of bacteria, epidemics common in insanitary, crowded places where food hygiene was neglected, or water or other fluids were contaminated by sewage.

was not particularly virulent, but it is more likely that the deaths from diphtheria were not recorded separately. The largest number of deaths, 34, occurred in the fourth quarter of 1880 and the second greatest was 30 in the same period of 1900, and 1900 as a whole had 98 deaths from diphtheria. The most vulnerable group to the disease were the one to five year olds and it spread by direct contact between children, by contact with the belongings of both carriers of the disease and sick children, by droplets in the air and occasionally from milk.¹ Sanitary measures would therefore not have a direct effect on diphtheria.

Measles was the most contagious of all the childhood diseases and spread by direct contact or by droplets from coughing and sneezing, the worst period for measles deaths was the fourth quarter of 1888 when 153 deaths were recorded, but 1885 saw 65 deaths in the same period of the year.²

Scarlet fever, also called scarlatina, affected the three to ten year old group. It spread by droplets, direct contact with a sick child or infected substances and sometimes from infected milk. The disease was common all the year round but reached a peak in October. In Burslem the greatest number of deaths was 49 in the fourth quarters of 1870 and 1876 and 48 in the same period of 1859 and the whole of 1859 saw 127 deaths from scarlet fever.³

Whooping cough, or pertussis or parapertussis, was the fourth major childhood illness that led to childhood mortality. It was highly infectious and about 90% of all cases were in children under five years. It spread by droplet infection from coughing and the peak period was March, although it was endemic throughout the year. The figures for

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1. Diphtheria - caused by a bacteria discovered in 1883.
 2. Measles - caused by a virus, but an attack conferred immunity. Debilitated children under two years and the tuberculous were at particular risk.
 3. Scarlet Fever - caused by a bacteria, isolated in 1923.

Burslem show that whooping cough claimed about 20 lives each year, but 1897 saw an exceptional 57 deaths in the first quarter of the year and 22 in the second quarter, previous and subsequent quarterly totals did not exceed 23 deaths.¹

Not all the deaths due to these diseases may have been recorded, but added to that was the difficulty of diagnosis. A child could die in the early stages of these illnesses when many of the symptoms were similar and an accurate diagnosis could not be made; also a child could suffer from more than one of the diseases simultaneously and in many cases the actual cause of death was bronchopneumonia and the child could be listed as dying from 'respiratory affection' or 'pulmonary affection'.

Burslem was amongst the first places in Britain to appoint a medical Officer of Health, it was first mentioned in April 1851 as the General Board of Health recommended such an appointment and further discussed in June 1851, an appointment was made in September 1851, for one year, of John Mare Harrison, but when the appointment received official confirmation he had already resigned because of 'severe indisposition', in his place Samuel Goddard was appointed Officer of Health at £25 a year, a position which he held until his resignation from ill-health in September 1875.² In his annual reports Goddard

1. Whooping cough, spelt hooping cough in earlier years - caused by a bacteria discovered in 1906. It was commonly associated with measles and was particularly serious in infants.

2. S. Adv. - 7 June 1851, 9 August 1851, 6 September 1851, 27 September 1851, 4 October 1851.

Burslem Local Board of Health Minutes - 3 September 1851, 24 September 1851, 1 October 1851, 10 June 1875, 1 September 1875
Samuel Goddard (d. 26 March 1876) MRCS Eng. L.A.C. Surgeon of N.W. District of Wolstanton & Burslem Poor Law Union from 1834, Trustee of Burslem & Twnstall Loan Society; Vice-president of Burslem Mechanics' Institute; surgeon to North Staffs. Provident Association, from mid - 1860s in partnership with his nephew, Samuel Oldham.

noted the high mortality rate of infants and young children with concretion. At that time the causes of the diseases were unknown, though the idea that minute organisms were specifically responsible had been put forward. The theory that the state of the atmosphere was responsible for disease was still widely held - in December 1858 60 children under the age of five died and Goddard stated that it 'seems to have been caused by atmospheric influences and has not been isolated'. However he was aware that the actual diseases were not the only causes of death, there were many other contributory factors. In his report of 1865 he listed them as:

'neglect, improper food, defective clothing, and in many cases the improper administration of medicines in the shape of nostrums'.

In 1867 he added that diseased parentage was a minor factor. In 1870 he again considered the excessive mortality of infants as being due to:

'bad nursing, viz. improper food, deficient vital parental warmth, deficient clothing and neglect of judicious, healthful exercise'.

Goddard also considered that the best remedy was 'a more enlightened education and training of our adult feminine sex'. In this remedy he foreshadowed work that was not done until nearly 40 years later; it was in 1907 that the first "School for Mothers" was opened in St. Pancras, and that was copied from a Belgian model. The use of 'health visitors' to educate mothers in the care of babies was not begun until the 1890s, at first on a voluntary basis in Manchester and Salford, then the scheme was taken up and improved by the Medical Officer of Huddersfield who made infant welfare a particular crusade. The distribution of pure milk for babies did not begin in Britain until 1899, in St. Helens.¹ The education of mothers, the infant welfare centres, the sterilisation of milk all contributed to

1. England 1870 - 1914 R.C.K. Ensor page 519

the fall in the infant death rate in the second decade of the twentieth century. The infant death rate in Burslem from 1870 to 1910 remained high, indeed it was well above the national average; when the national figure dropped to an average of 138 deaths per thousand over the quinquennium 1901-05 the Burslem figure was 189.

An attempt was made in the early 1870 s to help young children. In 1873 a day nursery and infant school was established, which Mr Goddard considered a 'great sanitary aid'.¹ Unfortunately the project lasted for three and a half years only and in October 1876 William Woodall reported to the Local Board of Health on the:

'Day Nursery for young children which was established three and a half years ago in the hope of making an impression on the formidable infant mortality which was mainly responsible for the high death rate in the town. ... They had to deal with this difficulty: the Potteries provided industry of young women and mothers and the consequence was that young children were often deprived of trained and constant nursing. He had paid some attention to the subject and he was convinced that there was no want of motherly care and affection in the district, nor indeed anything like the gross and culpable negligence to be found in large towns. When the crèche was established care was taken to avoid anything which would convey the impression of its being a charitable institution, and it was only in the cases of extreme poverty and hardship that free admission was granted. He could not help thinking that had the creche been in a more central locality the experiment would have resulted differently; but the fact remained that they had under their care an average of 15 or 16 children daily, and a considerable amount of good must have been brought about. From his own observation he could testify that poor puny infants had been brought to the nursery and they had had the satisfaction of seeing them grow up lusty and vigorous children. The supporters had however in view of the heavy cost of maintaining the nursery reluctantly come to the conclusion that they were not justified in carrying it on as a permanent institution. He had the hope of

1. Burslem Local Board of Health Minutes - 2 April 1873.

seeing another effort in the same direction, and under more favourable circumstances, carried on to success. He acknowledged the assistance given to the scheme by the ladies of the town.'¹

However the financial climate was not favourable to the provision of nurseries or welfare centres and nothing further was done, with the consequent lack of effect on the infant death rate. The only form of preventative treatment during epidemics was the closure of the schools. The first recorded closure was that of the Milton boys' school in November 1888 for a measles epidemic.² In 1893 a supply of pamphlets giving simple directions for schools and families during an epidemic was obtained for distribution.³ In October 1894 Mr. J.M. Taylor, the Officer of Health to the borough was appointed Medical Officer to the School Board but only

'to examine doubtful cases of alleged sickness and to issue certificates in such cases and also to issue Medical Certificates for Pupil Teachers in accordance with the requirements of the Education Department.'⁴

In 1897 the School Board wanted to establish a crèche, but were told that the Local Government Board would not permit any expenditure on such a project.⁵ In 1902 a lecture was given to the teachers at Board schools on eyesight, in response to a circular from the Board of Education.⁶ Nothing was done to improve the health of school children until the Education(Administrative Provisions)Act of 1907. This Act made it the duty of the local education authority to have the children medically examined. In January 1908 the Education Committee set up a sub-committee which drew up terms for the Lady Doctor they intended to appoint. The children were inspected three

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1. Burslem Newscuttings - page 32
 2. Burslem School Board Minutes - 3 December 1888
 3. Burslem School Board Minutes - 6 June 1893
 4. Burslem School Board Minutes - 2 October 1894
 5. Burslem School Board Minutes - 13 April 1897; 4 May 1897; 13 July 1897
 6. Burslem School Board Minutes - 5 February 1902

times in their school life and those children found to be in need of hospital treatment were sent to the local Haywood Hospital.¹ The Education Committee took the health of the school children rather more seriously after the 1907 Act - in 1909 because of an exceptional number of infectious diseases in the schools the caretakers were issued with a special list of duties for disinfecting, cleaning and ventilating the schools and in 1910 a Hanley doctor was appointed to examine and treat the children's eyes.² Therefore some progress was made in improving the health of school children but not until the twentieth century. The conquest of the childhood diseases had to wait until the development of immunisation and the availability of antibiotics for bacterial diseases, and the improved general health and nutritional state of children which enabled them to resist infection and to cope with infection if taken ill.

If a person survived the first year of life, and then survived the next four years the chances of living to middle age were much improved, but there were still health hazards to be faced. Diseases of the respiratory organs were the major cause of death in adults and particularly prevalent was tuberculosis and bronchitis as well as occupational lung diseases of the potteries and coal mines.

Environmental factors played an important part in respiratory complaints as air pollution made life much more difficult for the chronic bronchitic. Tuberculosis was adversely affected by poor nutrition, bad housing and the consumption of alcohol. The poor physique of the people, their sometimes scanty and often deficient diets, and the overcrowded and damp homes, the smoky atmosphere, the dust at work - all these made respiratory diseases the main cause of

1. Burslem Education Committee Minutes 13 September 1909
2. " " " " 13 December 1909, 13 June 1910

death throughout the period in Burslem.

Everyone living in Burslem was aware of the smoke pouring from thousands of domestic chimneys and from hundreds of furnaces at flint mills, collieries, brick yards, slip kilns, biscuit and glost ovens, hardening on and enamelling kilns. As the Smoke Inspector reported in 1871

'within this district are several hundreds of furnaces with their chimneys, hovels, etc. consuming monthly many thousand tons of coals and slack, such furnaces being on every variety of level in and about the town, therefore it is not to be wondered at that in certain states of the atmosphere there should be more smoke than the public approve of.'

The Towns Improvement Clauses Act 1847 had empowered local authorities to take action in the case of smoke nuisances, but it was not very effective. The Local Board could insist on a new chimney being of a particular height, as in 1856 when the Local Board allowed a 45 foot chimney at a brick works for an engine of 2½ h.p., the height of the chimney to be increased if the engine power was increased.² Abatement notices could be issued but were not very effective, the Sanitary Act of 1866, which came into effect in August 1867, contained provisions by which smoke from any chimney apart from that of a private house, had to be consumed. That meant that manufacturers had to install appliances to trap the black soot before it escaped into the atmosphere and to ensure complete combustion. It proved to be a rather difficult undertaking, in 1866 the Mayor of Hanley called a conference to examine various kinds of apparatus and experiment with them to find the best and the Burslem Local Board, which had six earthenware manufacturers as members, extended notices of abatement to give all the manufacturers

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1. Local Board of Health Annual Reports - Inspector of Nuisance's Report.
 2. S. Adv. 4 October 1856

more time to fix appliances. Not only did these smoke abatement appliances prove quite expensive but they needed careful attention from the workmen operating them, so the smoke nuisance continued. 'Improvements in the smoke situation came with a different technology, not in dealing with the smoke, but in the manufacturing process. In 1869 the Smoke Inspector reported that

'during the last few years 27 out of the 56 manufactories have adopted the press for the making of clay and discontinued 27 foul slip kiln chimneys. Several manufacturers have also introduced steam for drying purposes such as thrown ware saggars and for plate stoves thus dispensing with numbers of slack-fed furnaces; and some of the chimneys which are occasionally noticed sending forth smoke have as many as five furnaces connected with them, a few years ago there was a chimney for each furnace.'

However, the Smoke Inspector was rather an apologist in his reports, explaining away the smoke in the atmosphere, because so many members of the Local Board were manufacturers themselves and would not take kindly to being issued with abatement notices by their own Smoke Inspector. The smoke problem existed in the Potteries until the replacement of coal-fired furnaces by gas and electricity and the strict application of the Clean Air Act. The smoky atmosphere was a major contribution to the prevalence of chronic bronchitis, a disease that shortened people's lives as well as causing them some distress, especially in the winter months.

Lung disease was an occupational hazard of many pottery workers and was known as 'potters' rot' or 'potter's asthma'. The disease was pneumoconiosis, known as silicosis, it was caused by silicon oxide, the silica particles were dissolved in the lungs and silicic acid formed and caused parmanent and irreparable damage. In many cases pulmonary

1. Annual Reports - Burslem Local Board of Health

tuberculosis developed as well. The disease was slow-acting, lasting from two to twenty years and there was no treatment.

Workers in the flint mills who were engaged in crushing the flints were at risk and in the earthenware manufactories Dr. Greenhow in 1861 considered that the china scourers were those most exposed to the flint dust as they scraped imperfections from the baked, but unglazed ware, releasing, as they worked, flint dust into the air.¹ Others were less exposed but the generally dusty atmosphere put everyone at risk. In 1841, in his evidence to the Children's Employment Commission, Dr. Goddard noted that the children working as mould-runners and jiggers suffered from asthma, phthisis (tuberculosis) and haemoptysis (bleeding from the lungs) but ascribed it to sudden and great changes in temperature that they experienced.² Dr. Ball in his evidence to William Lee in 1849 also noted the prevalence of 'chest affections' and also considered them due to the great heat of the workrooms, contrasted with the cold air outside.³ Yet the real cause was that most insidious one of dust, breathed in over the years, apparently without effect until it was too late.

Even when the causes of silicosis and the dangers of the dust were recognized effecting preventative measures was far from easy. In a paper to the Sanitary Institute of Great Britain's Autumnal Congress in Stafford in 1878 Dr. Arlidge considered that as the dust could not be eliminated it could at least be controlled -

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1. Third Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council 1860-1861. Appendix No. VI. p 102-113
Dr. Greenhow's Report on Districts with Excessive Mortality from Lung Diseases
Stoke on Trent and Wolstanton.
 2. Children's Employment Commission - Reports and Evidence from the Sub-Commissioners Interview No. 217
 3. Lee's Report - p.15

'Airy, well ventilated and comparatively cool shops constitute the primary hygienic requirements in the manufacture of pottery. Subsidiary to these are plans for laying the dust by sprinkling the floor, the observance of all means of cleanliness, both of the shops and of the persons employed; but it is painful to add that these minor measures to remove a patent cause of disease are greatly neglected'.

One of Dr. Arlidge's suggestions was the use of respirators:

There can be no doubt of their efficiency in sifting the dust from the air before it enters the respiratory passages, but the difficulty is to get the workpeople to use them. There is on their part a recklessness and an indifference to consequences; the respirators increase the effort to breathe, and they feel hot and uncomfortable. But what is more fatal to their adoption is, they are innovations on the usages of trade and above all they subject their wearers to the jibes and jeers of their fellow workers and no class of people are more sensitive to jests or have so little moral courage in regard to the introduction of novelties as factory workmen and workwomen'.¹

The other occupational hazard faced by workers in the pottery industry was lead poisoning. The lead was present in the glazes and colours. It was absorbed by breathing in the lead dust, or by swallowing lead transferred from the hands either directly to the mouth or via food. Young women proved to be the most susceptible to lead poisoning. There were a number of general symptoms such as paleness, constipation, indigestion, aches and pains in the limbs, a blue line around the gums, other symptoms could develop, from severe colic to fits but a classical symptom was palsy and this affected the muscle group most frequently used, hence the commonest form of the paralysis was of the fingers and wrist and was known as 'wrist-drop'. In 1841 Dr. Goddard in evidence to the Children's Employment Commission described the effects of lead poisoning:

1. Local Newscuttings Volume 1 p. 97,98 S. Adv. 5 October 1878
Dr. J.T. Arlidge M.D. F.R.C.P. A.B. Physican to North Staffordshire Infirmary, author of Hygiene, Disease and Mortality of Occupations - London 1892

'The usual diseases that come under my treatment as resulting from the processes carried on in the manufactories are those of colica pictonum, obstinate constipations of the bowel and a multitude of others such as paralysis and convulsions. They are not, however, so abundant as they used to be, on account of the additional care of the matters, and the diminished quantity of deleterious ingredients in the dip. I have now two cases under treatment, a poor fellow by the name of Baskerfield at Dale Hall has suffered lately and is obliged to give up his employment in consequence; John Finn, another dipper, is disabled from paralysis of the hands.'¹

Lead poisoning was rarely fatal in itself, but it did lead to ill-health and disablement, though once removed from exposure to lead the sufferer should have begun to show an improvement, albeit a slow one.

In 1878 Dr. Arlidge commented that:

'There is need of airy shops and good ventilation and above all, of cleanliness of person and of surroundings. Most manufacturers supply their dippers with means of washing with towels, soap and nail brushes, and the Factory Act forbids partaking of meals in dipping houses.'²

However this last feature does not seem to have been enforced to any great extent, writing of the mid and late 1880s the Rev. H.V. Stuart noted that 'men and women in some places took their meals in the dipping house' and in evidence to the Royal Commission on Labour in 1893 one witness stated that:

'Lead was used in all the colours, and it was most unhealthy. In one of the banks an extra quantity was used, and the girls were always ill. She herself did not suffer so much as her sister who was very dirty and was constantly ill through not washing her hands & c.'³

At another manufactory a 15 year old girl had died from lead poisoning and her 18 year old sister had been ill, after the fatality the

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1. Children's Employment Commission - Reports and Evidence from the sub-Commissioners Interview No 217
 2. Local Newscuttings Volume L p 98
 3. Stories of a Staffordshire Parson - H.V. Stuart p 4
Royal Commission on Labour:- The Employment of Women, Reports 1893
The Staffordshire Potteries I c IV p 62

employers provided all the girls with 'big gowns to go over their dresses, hoods for their heads and respirators.'¹

The 1891 Factory and Workshop Act recognized the existence of dangerous processes and allowed for Special Rules to be drawn up. In 1898 lead-poisoning was officially investigated and new Home Office Rules were issued in 1900. Lead poisoning disappeared as lead of a low solubility was substituted, or lead was eliminated from the glazes.²

The dangers of lead were well known but it took a long time for sufficient controls to be imposed as the people who worked with the lead tended to be somewhat careless of the risks and often did not adopt the necessary precautions.

The only disease that could be controlled by public health measures with a considerable degree of success in the nineteenth century was smallpox.³ Vaccination using cowpox had been known since 1796 and in 1853 the vaccination of infants was made compulsory, with fines for the parents of unvaccinated children. Cases of the deaths from smallpox were recorded in Burslem up to 1903, for in spite of the law, not every child was vaccinated, nor was it understood that the strength of the vaccine and the degree of protection diminished with time and that re-vaccination was necessary in the event of an epidemic. In his 1863 report Dr. Goddard emphasised the value of vaccination:

'In May (1863) a child of a tramp died of smallpox and another child in the locality took the disease and recovered, neither was vaccinated. Several cases of modified smallpox occurred but in each case the disease was of so mild a character as fully

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1. Reports - The Employment of Women I c IV p 63
 2. Dangerous Processes in the Potting Industry - Duchess of Sutherland in The Staffordshire Potter - Harold Owen
 3. Smallpox - a virus disease transmitted by the inhalation of droplets or dust; bedding, clothing and rags can be infected.

to confirm the protecting influence of vaccination.'¹

The worst period for smallpox deaths was 1865, there were nine deaths between April and the end of August and a further nine deaths in the last quarter of the year. In 1872 there were six deaths and the last major epidemic was in 1885 when a tented isolation hospital was erected at Longport, three died.² By 1898 the danger from smallpox was sufficiently reduced for the law to be relaxed and allow parents to have conscientious objections to having their children vaccinated, there was a further relaxation in 1907. The public health battle against smallpox was a battle that was more or less won in the nineteenth century and although present, the disease was not the major scourge of earlier years with many deaths and blindness and disfigurement for the survivors.

Whilst disease was very common, its treatment was limited by the knowledge and techniques of the time. The Medical Act of 1858 set up the General Medical Council and limited the right to practise to those enrolled on the Medical Register, and therefore of those whose training was of an acceptable standard. The practice had been for those wishing to be surgeons or physicians to be apprenticed to a doctor and then study for the membership of the Royal College of Surgeons or the Royal College of Physicians and also for the licentiate of the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries, for example, Samuel Oldham had been the pupil of his uncle, Samuel Goddard a surgeon in Burslem before qualifying M.R.C.S. in London, John Alcock had first matriculated at London University and was then articled to a surgeon at Newcastle-under-Lyme before his M.R.C.S. and L.S.A. examinations. Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century there were many advances in both medicine and surgery, so patients would see doctors who not only knew more, but were able to do more

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1. Burslem Local Board of Health Annual Reports - Officer of Health's Reports
 2. Burslem Newscuttings p 124 report on 4 June 1885 Local Newscuttings

for them.

The majority of patients were nursed at home, not only was there only one hospital for the whole of the Potteries the North Staffordshire Infirmary, but until Joseph Lister's techniques for preventing wounds turning septic were adopted then the chance of dying in hospital were very high and the patient was probably better off at home. In 1871 the Local Board in Burslem decided to provide a hand ambulance to convey 'persons suffering from sickness or accident to the Infirmary', which two years earlier had transferred from the relatively convenient Etruria to the more distant Hartshill.¹

Whilst the North Staffordshire Infirmary remained the main hospital for the whole of the Potteries arrangements were made to care for sick people in Burslem. In 1874 a local landowner and colliery proprietor, Howard Haywood died and in his will left £30,000 to establish a cottage hospital and dispensary in Burslem to 'aid the poor and deserving sick persons of Burslem and its immediate neighbourhood.'² Unfortunately there was a protracted legal battle over the bequest in the Court in Chancery on whether the full amount could be paid and the £30,000 gift was reduced to £24,907-7-7, though with accumulated interest of £2,313-6-7 the legacy was finally worth £27,221-4-2. The Governors met for the first time on 21 February 1881 and it was decided on the recommendation of the town's medical men to appoint two trained nurses and rent a house for a Nurses' Home where the nurses would live and where meals

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1. Burslem Local Board of Health - Annual Reports 1851-1871
Clerk's Report 1871, Centenary of the North Staffordshire Infirmary 1802-1902 - Ralph Hordley
 2. Burslem Local Board of Health Minutes 23 May 1876

could be prepared for the patients. No. 102 Waterloo Road was the house taken and by 1883 there were three of the district nurses and the front room of the house was converted into a two-bed ward for in-patients and the first operation, an amputation, took place on 8 May 1883. Over 1883 there were 16 in-patients and 316 out-patients, 17 patients had been sent to the North Staffordshire Infirmary or to convalescent homes at Buxton, Southport and Rhyl. The nurses also paid 8,923 visits.¹ The cost of this service was met by the income on the capital, which had been invested in 3 per cent consols, not only were there the salaries of the nurses, but of the clerk to the governors, the auditor, and inquiry officer to ensure that it was only the deserving cases who received assistance, and a servant at the home, plus food for the nurses and their servant, rent, rates, taxes, relief aid in cash and food and subscriptions to the Infirmary and the convalescent homes. However the scheme was not ideal and from 1882 the governors were engaged in the provision of a purpose built hospital. Both Bleak Hill House and Fountain Place House had been offered for conversion into a six-bed unit but it was considered too difficult and expensive to convert either property. A local architect, G.B. Ford, drew up the plans for the new hospital and eventually a site on Moorland Road was secured and on 27 July 1886 the foundation stone of the 'Howard and Richard Howard Haywood Charity Hospital' was laid by Mr. W.S. Shoobridge, who had inherited the Haywood estate. The hospital was opened on 20 June 1887, the 50th anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession and the ceremony was performed by the Mayor, Ald. Spencer Lawton. It was quite small, there were two wards on the ground floor, with four beds each, a special one-bed ward, an operating room, a mortuary, a surgery, administrative rooms and on the first floor there were five nurses' bedrooms that could be used as occasional wards. Built of red brick

1. Burslem Newscuttings p 112 Report of 11 February 1884

the Haywood family crest was incorporated into the building. A gift of £1,000 was used to add another storey containing two wards with another 12 beds. At their opening ceremony in 1891 James Maddock offered £500 for a separate ward for the treatment of cases of burning and that was opened in 1892. The extension of ward accommodation led to the spending of £3,000 on other improvements, a lift, kitchens, bedrooms, bathrooms, a dispensary, out-patients' department, re-modelling of the operating theatre, and the removal of the laundry and mortuary to the rear. Towards the cost there were donations of £500 from W.E. Robinson and his family, £250 from W. Tellwright and legacies of £250 from W.T. Till and £1,000 from Mrs. Bates of Endon. The extension took place in 1896 and in 1907. By 1907 the Haywood Hospital had 31 beds and its income came, not just from the interest on the capital, but also from subscriptions from individuals and from employees of the various firms in Burslem. There were also fund-raising efforts, by local clubs, by concerts and entertainments and by collections in the churches and chapels and on Hospital Saturday when the proceeds were split between the Haywood Hospital and the North Staffordshire Infirmary. The cottage hospital provided a considerable out-patient service, in 1895 4,088 out-patient dressings were done. The Haywood Hospital was closed in 1930 and the patients transferred to Stanfields Sanatorium.¹

The need for a hospital for infectious diseases was pointed out in 1872 but it was the 1875 Public Health Act that gave the local authorities the power to build fever hospitals and after 1882 when the Medical Officer of the new borough of Burslem, Dr. J.M. Taylor, brought up the matter of such a hospital and it was decided to take

1. The Howard and Richard Howard Haywood Charity Hospital - An Epitome, S. Adv. 18 January 1896

action with other local authorities - Tunstall Local Board and the Wolstanton and Burslem Rural Sanitary Authority.¹ A number of sites were visited but action was postponed, in 1883 another committee recommended a site but Burslem Town Council turned down the scheme. They changed their minds in 1884 and decided on a 16 bed hospital. The Local Government Board held an inquiry in 1885 and sanctioned the expenditure on the hospital, for the land, the building and the furnishing of the building. The site was at Bradwell, between Dimsdale and High Carr on the road from Newcastle-under-Lyme to Talk-o'-Hill. The Bradwell Sanatorium was opened on 6 April 1887 and was managed by a committee comprising members of the three local authorities involved. Although by 1910 it could hold 30 patients, mostly cases of scarlet fever, diphtheria and typhoid it was inadequate and also inconveniently sited so in 1906 Burslem Town Council built an isolation hospital at Stanfields for 40 patients and in 1907 it was made available to the local authorities of Tunstall and Urban District of Smallthorne and by 1908 there was accommodation for 65 patients at that hospital on the eastern side of the urban area.²

Until the opening of the Haywood Hospital the district nurses had operated from the house in Waterloo Road, with the opening of the hospital the funds were no longer available for a district nursing service though it was decided to have such a scheme in response to

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1. Burslem Newscuttings p 1 S. Sentinel 22 June 1872 Local Newscuttings Volume 2 p 73
 2. S. Adv. 12 March 1910 - Bradwell Joint Hospital Committee Local Newscuttings Volume V p 90; Kelly's Directory 1908 o 84

the stimulus given to district nursing by Queen Victoria's Jubilee appeal. The scheme was introduced in 1892 and in 1897 a District Nurses' Home was opened on the corner of Newcastle Street and Lyndhurst Street and a Burslem District Nursing Association was established. In 1910 it was reported that in the year 1909 to 1910 the nurses had paid 4,963 visits to 304 patients of whom 226 recovered.¹ The doctor most involved with the District Nursing Association and the Burslem Nursing Institute was Dr. John Alcock and after his death in 1898 the Alcock Memorial Convalescent Fund was set up and in 1900 12 young women were sent to a house in the country and in 1910 19 girls went to the house at Ellastone. Another convalescent fund was established as the result of a legacy of local chemist, Thomas Leicester, and that was administered in conjunction with the Haywood Hospital.

If the Haywood bequest had not been made then it was most unlikely that Burslem would have raised sufficient funds for a similar cottage hospital, but it was probable that the district nursing scheme would have existed.

The burial of the dead presented problems until the opening of the Burslem cemetery in 1879. An Order in Council in 1856 had severely restricted burials in the existing graveyards, those of the Parish Church, of St. Paul's Church and the Baptist Church. Future burials had to be in vaults, walled graves and the coffins had to be embedded in charcoal. In 1874 the Chief Bailiff, Thomas Hughes, complained to the Home Secretary about the state of the Parish Churchyard, he said that he had seen a corpse buried in a grave

1. S. Adv. 1 September 1900; 14 May 1910

barely four feet deep and that he disapproved of the churchyard being levelled up with

'road scrapings, undecomposed litter,
builders' refuse and potsherds.'

Dr. P.H. Holland of the Burial Acts Office inspected the churchyard and suggested that the Burial Board, which had been constituted in 1872 and first met in 1873 might find a site for a new cemetery.¹ However, it was not until December 1875 that the Local Board decided to apply to the Local Government Board for sanction to borrow up to £22,000 for a cemetery.² Some 28 acres of land, known as Nettlebank, on the Smallthorne side of Burslem was purchased from the Rev. Walter Sneyd.³ Part of it was laid out as a burial ground, with sections for each religious group, the Church of England, the Nonconformists and the Roman Catholics. The remainder was intended to be a recreational park for walking. It was declared open by the Mayor, Thomas Hulme(D) on 16 September 1879 after the Bishop of Lichfield had consecrated part of the grounds.⁴

An Order in Council of 25 October 1881 placed even more restrictions on the use of the other churchyards. The Rector of the parish, the Rev. Alfred Watton, felt that to be rather harsh and wished to be able to open graves to bury the children of still-living parents as the children of deceased parents could be buried in existing graves.⁵ In fact he seems to have defied the Order in Council. There were burials at the Parish Church and at St. Paul's well into the twentieth century, though with greatly decreased frequency. The last burial at the Parish Church was not until the 1940 s. Burslem Cemetery still had plenty of space for burials.

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1. Burslem Newscutting page 6. Report of 23 May 1874
 2. " " " 24. Report of 1 December 1875
 3. Keates' Directory 1892-3 p. 135
 4. Burslem Newscuttings page 69 (between pps 73 and 74)
 5. " " pages 95, 96, 102, 110

The water supply to Burslem was found to be grossly inadequate by William Lee. Most people had to fetch water for drinking and cooking purposes from considerable distances. Enoch Jackson, a farmer at Birches Head, allowed one pailful per person per day from his supply in order to conserve it and the people had to carry that water on their heads the half mile or so to Sneyd Green.¹ A tenant of Sylvester Square, Sneyd, a Mrs. Thomas Johnson could obtain water from a local tap but she complained that

'one tap supplies above thirty houses. It ought to come Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and it sometimes remains on all day, but at others only a short time. We have been as long as five weeks without any water. That was in summer. It frequently fails to come on regularly in summer and we then want more water than in winter. We have to go about a mile for water when it does not come on.'

In Willett's Court the only supply for twenty houses was a deep well in the yard from which water was obtained by means of a jug and a long piece of string. Lee investigated the streams that ran into a public well by the Parish churchyard which was used by people from considerable distances -

'While I was near the place, a woman came by with two cans full of water, which she was carrying into the town. I examined the water and found it very filthy; but she said it was good now compared with what it is sometimes.²

The difficulty with the water supply meant that fetching and carrying water for drinking and cooking took a great deal of time and effort and as the water used for cleaning the houses and the pigsties was often dirty before it was used then standards of cleanliness were not surprisingly low. The diseases that thrived in dirty conditions and as a result of polluted water supplies were found to be prevalent and

1. Lee's Report p.27

2. Lee's Report p.26

typhoid was virtually endemic.

The situation with regard to water was to change shortly after Lee's report. The Staffordshire Potteries Waterworks Company had begun with a meeting in 1845 of local manufacturers. They were keenly aware of the lack of water for their businesses as well as for the inhabitants of the towns. The company was incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1847 with a capital of £60,000. The first directors included William Davenport of Davenport's, Longport, who was the chairman; Samuel Alcock of S. Alcock & Co. at the Hill Pottery, who already supplied water to some people from a reservoir at that pottery; John Alcock, also of Alcock & Co. and of Messrs. J., J. & G. Alcock, bankers; the other local director was Hugh Henshall Williamson, a colliery owner of Greenway Bank. The water for the Potteries came from springs on the Duke of Sutherland's estate near Leek, at Wall Edge. Pumps took the water to an impounding reservoir at Deep Hayes Valley, Ladder Edge, then it was piped to a service reservoir at Birches Head on the land of Enoch Jackson in Abbey Hulton. The water mains then went through Sneyd Green to Cobridge, along Waterloo Road to the town centre and out towards Brownhills and Tunstall. The scheme was ready for Burslem in October 1849. The company could take 1.5 million gallons daily from the springs and they calculated that it was equivalent to 20 gallons per person per day. Householders were charged for water on a rising scale according to the rateable value of the property. For houses rated up to £6 the water rate was 6s a year, this applied to 2,923 houses in Burslem, another 231 houses were rated at £7, £8, and £9 a year and paid 7s, 8s, or 9s accordingly. A water closet was an extra 10s per year. Lee thought that the latter charge was high and a disincentive to householders to install water closets.

The company also promised to install fire plugs along the streets without extra charge. The company in their evidence to Lee on a scheme that had to be proved made the prospects sound good, that all water supply problems had been solved and there would be no problems in the future.¹

The reality was not so rosy, the inhabitants of Burslem found that their water was cut off on Wednesdays, the company stated that it was to allow repairs to take place, but the water was often cut off on Sundays and at night as well. Complaints about the reduced supply were expressed to a committee of the House of Commons when the 1853 Water Company bill was being discussed, but there were still complaints in 1856 though the water company engineer, Liddle Elliot, said that they hoped to cut off the supply on Wednesdays for only four hours and that the turncock had instructions to act promptly in any emergency.² That was not the case later the same year when a fire broke out during the night at Thomas Hughes' Works and there was no water available until the turncock was fetched from his home in an outlying part of Sneyd Green, by which time £500 to £600 worth of damage had been done. The response of the water company was not to turn the water on at night but to station the turncock in the town.³ Nearly 300 properties at Cobridge, including three public houses, a beerhouse, several large residences, three earthenware manufactories and Earl Granville's estate for his workers, which had 126 water closets, were supplied from the old mains of the former Hanley Waterworks, which were two one-inch lead pipes and taps. The supply

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1. Pure and Wholesome Water for One Hundred Years 1849-1949
The Story of the Staffordshire Potteries Water Undertaking.
 2. Staffordshire Advertiser 23 April 1853;
 3. " " 22 November 1856

was irregular, insufficient and at low pressure, but there was no response from the company.¹ There were fewer complaints in later years, but the performance of the Water Company was a matter for concern by the local authority, in 1873 the Local Board considered that 'the recent stoppage of the water supply was a serious misfortune which might materially affect the sanitary condition of the District.'² However the local authority could only pass on complaints of deficient water supplies to the company. In 1872 the Government Inspector had complained about the water supply:

'The water supply to the town required to be improved both in quantity and quality, they ought to have none but filtered water, he had heard complaints of the water being muddy sometimes after heavy rains. Again there ought to be a constant supply. They might have a right to a constant supply and if so they ought to make the Company give it to them. There were certain days during which the mains were shut up and then the excuse was that it was for the purpose of repairs, but he thought that they had no business to stop the whole district from water for a whole day.'³

In inspection in 1886 reported a much improved situation. The water supply was of 'good quality and ample quantity'.⁴ It was only the more outlying areas that did not have access to the mains. The water supply remained in the hands of a private company throughout the whole period, although William Owen had suggested in 1894 that the Town Council took steps to 'procure an adequate supply under the control of the local authority'.⁵ It was not followed up, any move towards local authority control would have involved co-operation by all the Potteries authorities and such co-operation was rarely achieved.

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1. S. Adv. 5 May 1855
 2. Local Board of Health Minutes 3 September 1853
 3. Burslem Newscuttings p.1 - Staffordshire Sentinel 22 June 1872
 4. " " p.136 Report on 18 September 1886
 5. S. Adv. 17 March 1894

Gas

Burslem had originally been supplied with gas by the British Gas Light Company which had works at Etruria, but was found to be rather expensive so in 1837 a number of local shareholders set up the Burslem and Tunstall Gas Light Company with works just off Waterloo Road.¹ It supplied both private and business consumers, mostly tradesmen, few manufactories had gas in 1849, and public buildings and street lighting. There were 160 public lamps in 1849 that were lit from 1st September to 30th April of the following year. Many of the inhabitants of Cobridge did not consider their area at all well lit and at the public inquiry of 1849 it was stated by Edward Walley that:

'the town and especially Cobridge is very unfairly and partially lighted and public lamps very ill attended; the lamps being lit not more than half the time agreed, being put out at midnight and in the winter evenings lighted very late.'²

In spite of complaints the gas company continued to expand, in the early 1850 s they opened a new works at Longport, which became their main works. In 1857 the chairman reported that 'demand was increasing at an almost unprecedented ratio.'³ Shortly afterwards the company was incorporated by Act of Parliament. Before the bill was passed the Local Board succeeded in arranging for a maximum price for gas for public lamps and for private consumers, but an attempt to insert a clause which would enable the Local Board to purchase the gas company if it thought it advisable received very strong objections from the British Gas Light Company, which supplied Hanley and Tunstall and the

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1. White's Directories 1834 and 1851 p. 271
 2. Lee's Report p. 32, 33, 38
 3. S. Adv. - 20 June 1857

clause was expunged.¹ This rebounded on the British Gas Light Company when they applied to Parliament for increased powers the following year, the Local Board considered their bill to be 'so objectionable' that they carried opposition to the House of Commons with the result that it was decided to make a territorial division of the Potteries district between the gas companies, so the British Gas Light Company were then prohibited from supplying gas to Burslem.²

For the next few years the Gas Company had three year contracts with the Local Board for lighting the public lamps and the number of such lamps increased gradually, in 1866 there were 154 new lamps since the formation of the Local Board. However the Local Board's relations with the Gas Company began to deteriorate, the Board's surveyor thought that the quality of the gas should be independently examined, the Company refused to set up a testing station in the town for such a purpose and from 1867 there was difficulty over the contract for public lighting as the Local Board complained that they paid more for gas than did Hanley and Tunstall, but as they did not wish the town to be plunged into darkness the contract was made for 12 months at a time. In 1869 the Gas Company eventually accepted the lower price offered by the Local Board for public lamps and also reduced their prices for private consumers. The Local Board appointed a gas examiner in 1871 to test the quality of the gas, but contracts between the Gas Company and the Local Board continued to be on a 12 month basis and in 1875 a motion was put before the Local Board for steps to be taken for the purchase of the gas works, at the end of the year a sub-committee was

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1. Burslem Local Board of Health Annual Reports - Clerk's and Surveyor's Reports 1857
 2. Burslem Local Board of Health's Annual Reports - Surveyor's Report 1858

set up which they recommended purchasing the gas works at the price asked by the company of £80,000 which was accepted.¹ The Local Government Board's sanction to borrow the money for that purpose had to be given and a public inquiry was held in January 1876, but difficulties arose and the purchase became a protracted affair. The legal position proved not to be clear because the gas works supplied gas to areas outside the Local Board's jurisdiction. The purchase date was extended but it was decided that an Act of Parliament was needed, the ratepayers agreeing that the cost should be borne by the rates. The bill went before Parliament in 1877 and was passed by June, the purchase was finally completed in October 1877, the money being raised from the Lords of the Admiralty with a mortgage over 60 years.² In a study of the transfer of gas works to local authorities it was considered that the Burslem Local Board had paid highly for the gas works and could not make the profits they hoped.³ The Local Board proved to be right, in 1898 the purchase of the gas works was considered to be 'the best investment the Corporation ever made', in a comparison between 1879 and 1898 production had risen from 77 million cu. ft. to 165 million cu. ft., the number of consumers from 3,100 to 5,842 (including 2,262 on penny in the slot meters), the producing capacity of the retort house had risen from 400,000 cu. ft a day to 1 million cu. ft a day. The reserve fund contained £12,600, there had been rates relief to the value of £43,000 and £28,000 had been

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1. Burslem Local Board of Health's Annual Reports - Surveyor's Reports, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870.
Clerk's Report 1871
Burslem Local Board of Health's Minutes - 7 January 1875, 3 November 1875, 7 December 1875
 2. Burslem Local Board of Health's Minutes - 25 January 1876; 8 March 1876, 13 October 1876, 1 November 1876, 30 November 1876, 7 March 1877, 15 June 1877, 3 October 1877, 7 November 1877
 3. The Transfer of Gasworks to Local Authorities - Arthur Silverthorne C.E. in Local Newscuttings Volume I p.79 in Staffordshire Times 2 September 1878

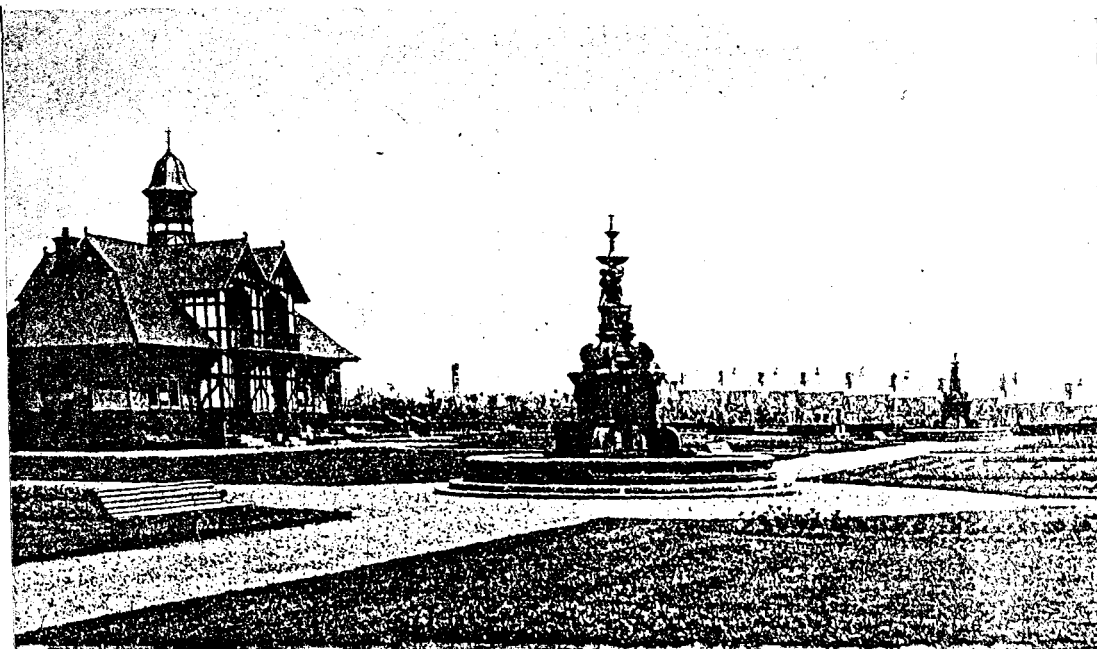
spent on extensions. The price of gas to private consumers fell, in 1867 it had been 3s 6d per thousand ft., in 1907 it was 2s 6d per thousand ft. The gas works expanded into the supply of gas fires and of gas cooking ranges and grillers and little competition was expected from electricity.¹

Electricity

Burslem could have had electricity from the early 1880's as a private company wanted to apply for a Provisional Order to supply electricity in 1883.² The offer was not taken up and it was 1898 before the Corporation itself applied for a Provisional Order for the supply of electricity. It was 1903 before they decided to erect an electricity works at a site on Scotia Road, to be combined with a refuse destructor and the steam generated by the refuse destructor was to be used to power the dynamos. Burslem and Wolstanton would receive the supply and Tunstall was offered a supply. The works were opened in 1905 at a cost of £26,500, by 1907 there were 130 consumers and 7,250 lamps were connected to the mains. The works was extended six months after opening and in 1910 further extensions were inaugurated with a new turbo-generator. Burslem produced cheaper electricity than either Stoke or Hanley - the cost per unit being 0.84d. 0.98d and 1.34d respectively and the selling price was less too - in Burslem it was 1.55d per unit, in Stoke 1.71d per unit and in Hanley 2.46d per unit.³

Although Burslem was a late starter as far as electricity was concerned it was a successful venture and of good value to the consumers, though there were few of them at the beginning. The Corporation decided that they would control the electricity supply

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1. Local Newscuttings Volume IV p.89 Report of 21 October 1898
 2. Burslem Borough Council Minutes 4 July 1883
 3. S. Adv. 13 February 1904; 12 March 1910
Potteries and Newcastle Directory 1907 p.7



THE TERRACE, BURSLEM PARK

themselves, having had the experience of successfully running the gas works after difficult relations with the private company.

Recreation Grounds and Parks

The first public recreation ground provided by a local authority specifically for that purpose was an area of 6½ acres at the Jenkins, near the town centre which was opened on 1 August 1866 but the main park was not opened until 1894.¹

The site was 22 acres between Hamil Road and Moorland Road, the upper part had been the athletic and football ground of the Burslem Port Vale club from 1884, the lower part had been waste land and there were pit shafts and colliery waste heaps on the site. The site was landscaped by T.H. Mawson and the work was done by locally unemployed men; costs exceeded the original estimate by £3,572 as some 48,000 loads of filling and soil were needed to fill in the pit shafts and level the surface, including that of the old football ground, a lake covering half an acre was planned but the bottom proved to be rotten and caused problems though it was ready for the opening of the park. The park was inaugurated by the Earl of Dartmouth on 12 April 1893 and it was opened to the public by the Mayor unlocking the gates with a silver-gilt key on 30 August 1894. It proved extremely popular with the local inhabitants, on one Sunday in the summer of 1898 there were 15,000 visitors, and concerts were given from the bandstand.²

There were other recreational areas, there was about 7 acres at Grange Fields, on the east side of Waterloo Road, and by 1907 there were two small recreation grounds, one next to the park, on the Hamil Road, and one on Newcastle Street. In 1909 Middleport Park was opened on the site of the former Burslem Rectory, a bowling green

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1. Burslem Local Board of Healths' Annual Reports - Clerk's Report 1866
Surveyor's Report 1867
 2. S. Adv. 15 April 1893; 12 May 1894; 1 September 1894;
Local Newscuttings Volume IV p89

was added in the following year and in 1911 the Cobridge Pleasure Grounds were opened next to the railway line. The land was bought by the Corporation just before Federation and they were laid out using unemployed labour.¹

Public Baths

After the Baths and Washhouses Act was not adopted in Burslem in 1852 for the provision of those facilities out of the rates, John Maddock decided to build public baths at his own expense if he could be guaranteed £50 a year in subscriptions, which was quickly achieved. The baths were at 16 Bath Street and provided 'washing, plunge, slipper and shower baths'. They were open daily from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m. except on Sundays and there were also swimming baths.²

Municipal baths were not built until 1894. The site on Moorland Road was given by R.N. Wood and the large second class bath was opened on 29 June 1894, the smaller first class bath was opened on 2 August 1894 by the Borough Surveyor who inaugurated it by swimming under the water for a length and a half. It was January 1896 before the remaining private baths were opened, these were the 'private, Russian, vapour, shampooing room, hot rooms and Turkish baths'. The swimming baths were popular, in the year 1897-1898 there were 25,575 male bathers and 1,363 female bathers and the School Board sent at first boys and later boys and girls for swimming lessons. An amateur swimming club was established in 1894 and a very successful water polo team formed, which in 1911 won the Staffordshire Water Polo Cup for the fifth successive year.³

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1. S. Adv. 1 January 1910, 12 March 1910 Staffordshire Sentinel 19 May 1911 - Local Newscuttings Volume V p 89
 2. S. Adv. 27 December 1851, 3 January 1852, 17 January 1852 24 January 1852, 31 January 1852, 7 February 1852 S. Adv. 21 February 1852, 21 May 1853
 3. S. Adv. 30 June 1894, 4 August 1894, 14 July 1894, 25 January 1896 1 April 1911. Local Newscuttings Volume IV p 89 report of 21 October 1898

Fire Brigade

Both homes and manufactories were exposed to the risk of fire and some parts of manufactories such as the drying rooms were particularly dangerous. In 1849 there were three fire brigades with a total of about 40 men, Burslem had two fire engines which belonged to the Market Commissioners, and Cobridge and Longport each had a fire engine. However the fire had usually done its worst damage before the fire brigades and their engines could reach it and the difficulty was compounded by the deficiencies in the water supply.¹

The Staffordshire Potteries Waterworks Company stated their intention to place fire plugs along the street but this was of little use when the water was turned off. The Local Board maintained the fire engines at Burslem, Longport and Cobridge and converted the ground floor of the old Cobridge Free School into a fire station, they also provided uniforms for the firemen. In 1870 they decided to buy a steam fire engine to replace the manual models in use, this meant that they had to employ an engineer and stoker who were paid £6 and £4 a year respectively plus 2s an hour when engaged at fires or at practice.²

In 1895 the fire brigade underwent a thorough reorganisation and was placed on a more professional footing, though all the firemen continued to be part timers. The Borough Surveyor, Fred Bettany was the captain, with a lieutenant and two engineers and nine firemen. They began entering fire drill competitions with some success, they also attended fires and in order to give a speedier turnout property owners with houses close to the fire station, which

1. Lee's Report p 27, 28

2. Burslem Local Board of Health's Annual Reports - Surveyor's Reports 1852, 1860, 1870, 1871

was on Scotai Road, were asked to give first chance to firemen, when the houses were re-let. By 1910 all the firemen lived in one street and were connected to the station by electric bells. They did not attend very many fires in a year, in 1899 there were seven fires and eight call outs, but there was a particularly bad fire at Edge, Malkin & Co. which lasted for the whole of one day and was followed by a fire at Ford & Sons on Newcastle Street and at those two fires and the subsequent damping down some of the firemen were on duty for two nights and a day. By 1907 the fire brigade had 17 men, a steam fire engine, a hose tender, a fire escape, a hose reel, a hose cart and hand chemicals. Captain Bettany was appointed the chief officer of the Stoke-on-Trent fire brigade after Federation.¹

1. Notes on Burslem Fire Brigade 1895 1900 - J Aucock
Potteries and Newcastle Directory 1907 p 6-7
Staffordshire Advertiser 5 November 1910

Membership of the Local Board and Town Council

As will be seen from the list of members of these two bodies in the appendix the same names recur year after year, some men were members for over twenty years and naturally they knew each other extremely well and were as well known to the electors. The financial qualifications necessary for election to the Local Board of Health restricted the range of its membership, local manufacturers were particularly well represented, local retailers had only one or two representatives, local workingmen had no representatives. Town Council membership was broader based, workingmen and trade unionists were elected, the first being J.E. Oakes, a saggarmaker in 1884. Whilst the Councils of the 1880s and 1890s were continuations of the Local Board, by the late 1890s and 1900s there were considerable changes of personnel - many of the old stalwarts had retired or died, men such as William Boulton, Spencer Lawton, G.B. Ford, Thomas Wood, Robert Sudlow - in their places were new men. (In 1908 Sarah Bennett stood for election on the first occasion when women were allowed to do so but was not elected). The new men of the 1900s included many more retailers and shopkeepers and more workingmen, there were still manufacturers on the Council but they tended to be small manufacturers. Some second generation councillors were elected, A.H. Gibson was the son of Samuel Gibson, J.H. Edwards was the son of Enoch Edwards, Sydney Malkin was the nephew of J. Wilcox Edge. The possibility and later the certainty of Federation discouraged some men from continuing as councillors in this decade.

Business in the Board and Council committee meetings proceeded fairly smoothly and most resolutions were passed unanimously. However, there were a few controversial subjects that led to major arguments.

When the Local Board of Health was first established William Lee had recommended that the district be divided into three parts,

Burslem, Rushton Grange and Sneyd, in order to assuage the fears of the inhabitants of Rushton Grange about a Burslem take-over. At an early meeting of the new Local Board it was decided that the three area would be separately rated and Rushton Grange normally paid a lower rate than Burslem or Sneyd. By the late 1860s there were moves to have a common rate for the whole Local Board district, but attempts to rescind the old resolution failed because Rushton Grange members absented themselves from the Committee meeting at which the motion was proposed and it was thought that their presence was essential if the motion was to be binding. After a uniform rate was applied at the meeting which Rushton Grange members had boycotted the matter was taken by W.H. Mayer, a ratepayer of Rushton Grange, to the County Court and finally to the Court of Queen's Bench in London in 1875 which quashed a rate which had been applied to Rushton Grange. The judge stated that the original resolution could be altered by a subsequent meeting, if properly convened. That interpretation of the resolution meant that a uniform rate was laid shortly afterwards and several years of argument were ended.¹

The major change in local government was that of incorporation. It had first been proposed in December 1869 by Thomas Hulme (D) and a committee was set up to promote the application after an 8 to 3 vote. The committee met several times but produced no report and in the election of 1870 Thomas Hulme (D) lost his place on the Board, and the election cry had been 'incorporation or no incorporation'.² The matter was quiescent until the re-election of Thomas Hulme (D) in 1873 and an undated election broadside stated:

Ratepayers of Burslem. Don't be deceived!! The question is really the same you answered last year:- Do you want Incorporation with still higher rates? or Lower Rates without Incorporation?

1. Burslem News Cuttings p.4, 9

2. Keates' Gazetteer and Directory 1892-93, p.124; Clerk's Report to Local Board of Health 1870

Will you reverse your decision of last year
by returning the very men you then rejected
and whose opinions, bear in mind, are unchanged?

If they are returned the question of Incorporation,
about which we have heard nothing in the meantime,
will be again brought forward. Let them see that
your minds are fully made up, and support your
true friends the Anti-Incorporation Candidates,
who will advocate Reduction of Rates!

Hughes Ellis Parker

By order of The Workingmen's Committee 1

It was in February 1877 that Thomas Hulme(D) gave notice of a motion
for Incorporation and a public meeting was held in mid-March 1877.

Hulme stated that incorporation would give increased powers to the local
authority and also increased status, for example, a municipal borough
could have a borough bench of magistrates, public house and beer house
licences could be granted, the police force would be under more local
control. The title 'Chief Bailiff' was often misunderstood outside the
area, but everyone knew what a Mayor was and he felt it would be more in
keeping with the size of the town, and ensure that Burslem did not fall
behind other Potteries towns to be a municipal borough.²

The motion proposing incorporation was put before the Local Board
on 13 March 1877 and passed this time unanimously, it stated 'that it is
desirable that Burslem should become a Borough Corporate, and the
Inhabitants Householders are recommended to petition Her Majesty to grant
them a Charter of Incorporation'.³ The Charter was granted on 27 June
1878 and the first election for the new Town Council was held on 21
August 1878. Thomas Hulme(D), fittingly, was the last Chief Bailiff of
Burslem and the first Mayor. The Borough was granted a coat of arms
on 8 October 1878 and civic dignity was enhanced by the gift of a
mayoral chain in 1880 by the Maddock family, of robes for the councillors,
aldermen and mayor in 1884 from G. B. Ford and of a mace from T.F. Wood

1. Election Broadside printed by Warwick Savage

2. S. Adv. 17 March 1877 p.7

3. Burslem Local Board of Health Minutes 13 March 1877

in 1892. However a Commission of the Peace for a borough bench of magistrates was not granted until 1900 and there was certainly an increase in rates after incorporation, though partly due to the large number of expensive projects begun by the last Local Board - St. John's Vegetable Market, the purchase of the Gas Works, the Bradwell Farm sewage scheme, all put the new Council in debt for many years.

There was also a considerable increase in the amount of work expected of the councillors, in 1878-79 the Mayor could have attended 152 meetings of the Council and its committees, in 1908-09 it had risen to 234 meetings, for councillors there was a similar increase, from between 47 and 89 meetings in 1878-79 to between 103 and 209 in 1908-09.¹ The last councils were responsible for a larger town, for many more amenities, such as the parks and the swimming baths. Membership was much less of a part-time business involving a few hours a week, it was more complex and took far more time, though the earlier Local Board members and Town Councillors probably took themselves and their work just as seriously.

1. Borough Council Attendance Records.

Chapter II - Appendix I

Members of the Local Board of Health 1850 - 1878

Key

Column 1	-	Name of member;	C	-	Chairman and Chief Bailiff
Column 2	-	Number of votes received;	nc	-	no contest
Column 3	-	Political affiliation, where known;	L	-	Liberal
			C	-	Conservative
			I	-	Independent
Column 4	-	Occupation			
Column 5	-	Religious denomination;	CE	-	Church of England
			M-W	-	Methodist-Wesleyan
			M-NC	-	Methodist-New Connexion
			M-UMF	-	Methodist-United Methodist Free
			M-P	-	Methodist-Primitive
			C	-	Congregationalist
			D	-	Dissenter

1850-1851

<u>Burslem</u>					
George Baker	523	C	Gentleman		CE
William Cork	446	L	Innkeeper		
William Dixon	453	L	Grocer		
Samuel Fitton	450	L	Flour miller		
Elijah Hughes	C 781	C	Earthenware manufacturer		CE
William S Kennedy	732	L	China manufacturer		C
John Maddock	518	L	Earthenware manufacturer		D
John Pidduck	727	L	Ironmonger		C
Thomas Whittingham	667	C	Gentleman		CE
<u>Rushton Grange</u>					
Isaac Hitchin	159	I	Gentleman		CE
Rev. William D Lamb	116	C	Incumbent of Christ Church		CE
Edward Walley	182	L	Earthenware manufacturer		
<u>Sneyd</u>					
John Dean	127	C	Earthenware manufacturer		M-W
Thomas Massey	101	L	Gentleman		
Charles B May	66	C	Farmer		CE

1851-1852

<u>Burslem</u>					
George Baker		C	Gentleman		CE
William Cork	953	L	Innkeeper		
Samuel Fitton	929	L	Flour miller		
Elijah Hughes		C	Earthenware manufacturer		CE
William S Kennedy		L	China manufacturer		C
John Maddock		L	Earthenware manufacturer		D
Jos Mayer	1546	L	Earthenware manufacturer		
John Pidduck	C	L	Ironmonger		C
Thomas Whittingham		C	Gentleman		CE
<u>Rushton Grange</u>					
John Alcock	nc	C	Pottery manufacturer, banker		CE
Isaac Hitchin		I	Gentleman		CE
Edward Walley		L	Earthenware manufacturer		
<u>Sneyd</u>					
John Dean		C	Brick & Tile manufacturer		M-W
Thomas Massey		L	Gentleman		
Charles B May	104	C	Farmer		CE

1852-1853

<u>Burslem</u>				
William Cork		L	Innkeeper	
William Dixon	612	L	Grocer	
Samuel Fitton		L	Flour miller	
Elijah Hughes		C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
William S Kennedy		L	China manufacturer	C
John Maddock	C 610	L	Earthenware manufacturer	D
Jos Mayer		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
John Pidduck		L	Ironmonger	C
James Vernon	637	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
Thomas Brindley	176	C	Coal & Iron master	CE
Edward Walley		L	Earthenware manufacturer	

Sneyd

John Dean	C	Brick & Tile manufacturer	M-W
Charles B May	C	Farmer	CE

As Thomas Massey and Joseph Edge tied with 91 votes for this place it was left vacant for the year.

1853-1854Burslem

Edwin Boon	977	L	Builder	C
William Cork		L	Innkeeper	
William Dixon		L	Grocer	
William Eley	930		Grocer	
Samuel Fitton		L	Flour miller	
John Maddock		L	Earthenware manufacturer	D
Jos Mayer		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
John Pidduck	1027	L	Ironmonger	C
James Vernon	C	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE

Rushton Grange

Thomas Brindley		C	Coal & Iron master	CE
Stephen Hughes	190	C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Rev W D Lamb	194	C	Incumbent of Christ Church	CE

Sneyd

Joseph Edge	104	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Massey	111	L	Gentleman	
Charles B May		C	Farmer	

1854-1855Burslem

Edwin Boon		L	Builder	C
William Cork	928	L	Innkeeper	
William Eley			Grocer	
John Maddock	C	L	Earthenware manufacturer	D
Jos Mayer	1100	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
John Pidduck		L	Ironmonger	C
Thomas Pinder	837	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
James Vernon*		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Thomas Whittingham	650	C	Gentleman	CE

Rushton Grange

Thomas Brindley		C	Coal & Iron master	CE
Stephen Hughes**	136	C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Rev W D Lamb		C	Incumbent of Christ Church	CE

Sneyd

Joseph Edge		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Massey		L	Gentleman	
Charles B May	nc	C	Farmer	CE

* Disqualified under the property qualification. ** Died 6 January 1855

1855-1856

<u>Burslem</u>				
Robert Berrington	528		Grocer, cheese factor	M-NC
Edwin Boon		L	Builder	C
William Cork		L	Innkeeper	
James Macintyre	754	L	China manufacturer	C
John Maddock	703	L	Earthenware manufacturer	D
Lazarus Salisbury	703	L	Hatter	
James Vernon	C 770	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Thomas Whittingham	828	C	Gentleman	CE
George Wigley	619	L	Brick merchant	D
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
Thomas Brindley	160	C	Coal & Iron master	CE
Elijah Hughes	153	C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Rev W D Lamb		C	Incumbent of Christ Church	CE
<u>Sneyd</u>				
Benjamin Cork	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Joseph Edge	nc	C	Earthenware manufacaturer	M-W
William Ford	nc	C	Builder	M-W

1856-1857

<u>Burslem</u>				
Edwin Boon	524	L	Builder	C
William Cork*		L	Innkeeper	
Isaac Hitchin	525	I	Gentleman	CE
James Macintyre	C	L	China manuafturer	C
John Maddock		L	Earthenware manufacturer	D
Lazarus Salisbury		L	Hatter	
James Vernon		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Thomas Whittingham		C	Gentleman	CE
George Wigley	488	L	Coal master	D
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
Thomas Brindley		C	Coal & Iron master	CE
Elijah Hughes		C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Edward Pearson	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>Sneyd</u>				
Benjamin Cork		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Joseph Edge		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
William Ford	nc	C	Builder	M-W

* Died 23 September 1856

1857-1858

<u>Burslem</u>				
Edwin Boon		L	Builder	C
George F Bowers	479	C	E'ware manufacturer, Coal mstr	CE
Isaac Hitchin		I	Gentleman	CE
James Macintyre	C	L	China manufacturer	C
John Maddock	508	L	Earthenware manufacturer	D
James Vernon		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
John Watkin	479	L	Builder	M-NC
Thomas Whittingham		C	Gentleman	CE
George Wigley		L	Coal master	D
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
Thomas Brindley		C	Coal & Iron master	CE
Edward Pearson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Edward Walley	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>Sneyd</u>				
Benjamin Cork	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Joseph Edge		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
William Ford		C	Builder	M-W

1858-1859

<u>Burslem</u>				
Edwin Boon		L	Builder	C
George F Bowers		C	E'ware manfr & Coal master	CE
Isaac Hitchin*	C	I	Gentleman	CE
James Macintyre	nc	L	China manufacturer	C
John Maddock		L	Earthenware manufacturer	D
Jos Mayer	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
John Watkin		L	Builder	M-NC
Thomas Whittingham	nc	C	Gentleman	CE
George Wigley		L	Manufacturer	D
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
Thomas Brindley	nc	C	Coal & Iron master	CE
Edward Pearson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Edward Walley		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>Sneyd</u>				
Benjamin Cork		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Joseph Edge	nc	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
William Ford		C	Coal & Iron master	M-W

* Resigned on health grounds 24 August 1859, J Macintyre acting chairman.

1859-1860

<u>Burslem</u>				
Edwin Boon	508	L	Builder	C
George F Bowers		C	E'ware manfr & Coal master	CE
James Macintyre		L	China manufacturer	C
John Maddock		L	Earthenware manufacturer	D
Jos Mayer		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Lazarus Salisbury	449	L	Hatter	
John Watkin		L	Builder	M-NC
Thomas Whittingham		C	Gentleman	CE
George Wigley	479	L	Manufacturer	D
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
Thomas Brindley		C	Coal & Iron master	CE
Edward Pearson	149	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Edward Walley		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>Sneyd</u>				
Benjamin Cork		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Joseph Edge		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
William Ford	C nc	C	Coal & Iron master	M-W

1860-1861

<u>Burslem</u>				
Edwin Boon		L	Builder	C
George F Bowers	341	C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
James Macintyre		L	China manufacturer	C
John Maddock	349	L	Earthenware manufacturer	D
Jos Mayer		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Lazarus Salisbury		L	Hatter	
James Vernon	405	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Thomas Whittingham		C	Gentleman	CE
George Wigley		L	Manufacturer	D
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
Thomas Brindley		C	Coal & Iron master	CE
Edward Pearson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Edward Walley	C 85	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>Sneyd</u>				
Joseph Edge		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
William Ford		C	Coal & Iron master	M-W
Jeremiah Goodall	nc		Coal master	

1861-1862

<u>Burslem</u>					
Edwin Boon		L	Builder	C	
G F Bowers		C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE	
John Sherriff Hill	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer		
James Macintyre	nc	L	China manufacturer	C	
John Maddock		L	Earthenware manufacturer	D	
Lazarus Salisbury		L	Hatter		
James Vernon		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE	
Thomas Whittingham	nc	C	Gentleman	CE	
George Wigley		L	Manufacturer	D	
<u>Rushton Grange</u>					
William M Harding	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer		
Edward Pearson		L	Earthenware manufacturer		
Edward Walley		L	Earthenware manufacturer		
<u>Sneyd</u>					
Joseph Edge	C	nc	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
William Ford			C	Coal & Iron master	M-W
Jeremiah Goodall				Coal master	

1862-1863

<u>Burslem</u>				
Edwin Boon	558	L	Builder	C
Richard Boughton	672	L/I	Draper	CE
G F Bowers		C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
J S Hill	C	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
James Macintyre		L	China manufacturer	C
John Maddock		L	Earthenware manufacturer	D
James Vernon		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Thomas Whittingham		C	Gentleman	CE
George Wigley	419	L	Brick & Tile manufacturer	D
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
William M Harding		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Edward Pearson	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Edward Walley		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>Sneyd</u>				
Joseph Edge		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Jeremiah Goodall			Coal master	
Anthony Shaw	nc	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W

1863-1864

<u>Burslem</u>				
Edwin Boon		L	Builder	C
Richard Boughton		I	Draper	CE
J S Hill*		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
James Macintyre		L	China manufacturer	C
John T Smith	761	C	Draper	
Robert Spence	773	C	Victualler	
William E Twigg	C 853	C	Solicitor	CE
Thomas Whittingham		C	Gentleman	CE
George Wigley		L	Brick & Tile manufacturer	D
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
Thomas Brindley	nc	C	Coal master	CE
Thomas Furnival	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Edward Pearson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>Sneyd</u>				
Joseph Edge		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Stephen Edge	nc	C	Corn merchant	M-W
Anthony Shaw		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W

* Resigned 29 February 1864

1864-1865

<u>Burslem</u>				
Edwin Boon		L	Builder	C
Richard Boughton		I	Draper	CE
James Macintyre	758	L	China manufacturer	C
John T Smith		C	Draper	
Robert Spence		C	Victualler	
William E Twigg	C	C	Solicitor	CE
John Watkin	590	L	Builder	M-NC
Thomas Whittingham	561	C	Gentleman	CE
George Wigley		L	Brick & Tile manufacturer	D

Rushton Grange

Thomas Furnival		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Edward Pearson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
James Vernon	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE

Sneyd

Stephen Edge		C	Corn merchant	M-W
Joshua B May*	nc	C	Coal master	CE
Anthony Shaw		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W

* Elected but refused to serve.

1865-1866

<u>Burslem</u>				
Edwin Boon	601	L	Builder	C
Joseph Edge	721	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
James Macintyre		L	China manufacturer	C
John T Smith		C	Draper	
Robert Spence		C	Victualler	
Frederick Tennant	554	C	Wine & Spirit merchant	CE
William E Twigg*		C	Solicitor	CE
John Watkin		L	Builder	M-NC
Thomas Whittingham		C	Gentleman	CE

Rushton Grange

Thomas Furnival		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Edward Pearson	C	nc	Earthenware manufacturer	
James Vernon		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE

Sneyd

Stephen Edge		C	Corn merchant	M-W
Thomas Pinder	54	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Anthony Shaw	45	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W

* Died 2 August 1867

1866-1867

<u>Burslem</u>				
Edwin Boon	C	L	Builder	C
Joseph Edge		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (D)	655	L	Pawnbroker	
James Macintyre		L	China manufacturer	C
John Maddock	712	L	Earthenware manufacturer	D
Frederick Tennant		C	Wine & Spirit merchant	CE
John Watkin		L	Builder	M-NC
Thomas Whittingham		C	Gentleman	CE
George Wigley	778	L	Brick manufacturer	D

Rushton Grange

Elijah Hughes	nc	C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Edward Pearson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
James Vernon		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE

Sneyd

Stephen Edge	nc	C	Corn merchant	M-W
Thomas Pinder*		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Anthony Shaw		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W

* Died 25 June 1867

1867-1868

<u>Burslem</u>				
Edwin Boon		L	Builder	C
Thomas Diggory	757	L	Potter	
Joseph Edge		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (D)		L	Pawnbroker	
Thomas Leicester	712	L	Chemist & Druggist	
John Maddock		L	Earthenware manufacturer	D
Frederick Tennant		C	Wine & Spirit merchant	CE
John Watkin	589	L	Builder	M-NC
George Wigley		L	Brick manufacturer	D
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
Joseph P Emery	nc	L	Colour manufacturer	
James Macintyre	nc	L	China manufacturer	C
Edward Pearson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>Sneyd</u>				
James Dean	104	I	Stationer	M-W ?
Stephen Edge		C	Corn merchant	M-W
Anthony Shaw	C	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W

1868-1869

<u>Burslem</u>				
Joseph Corbett	638	L	Grocer	
Thomas Diggory		L	Potter	
Robert Gilmore	595	L	Potter	
Thomas Hughes	600	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Thomas Hulme (D)	C	L	Pawnbroker	
Thomas Leicester		L	Chemist & Druggist	
John Watkin		L	Builder	M-NC
George Wigley		L	Brick manufacturer	D
William Woodall	860	L	China manufacturer	C
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
Joseph P Emery		L	Colour manufacturer	
James Macintyre*		L	China manufacturer	C
Edward Pearson	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>Sneyd</u>				
James Dean		I	Stationer	M-W
Stephen Edge		C	Corn merchant	M-W
Charles B May	41	C	Coal master	CE

* Died 19 December 1868

1869-1870

<u>Burslem</u>				
Joseph Corbett		L	Grocer	
Thomas Diggory		L	Potter	
Robert Gilmore	nc	L	Gentleman	
Thoms Hughes		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Thomas Hulme (D)	nc	L	Pawnbroker	
Frederick Tennant	nc	C	Wine & Spirit merchant	CE
John Watkin	C	L	Builder	M-NC
George Wigley	nc	L	Spur manufacturer	D
William Woodall		L	China manufacturer	C
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
John Brindley	nc	L	Merchant	
Joseph Edge	nc	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Edward Pearson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>Sneyd</u>				
James Dean		I	Stationer	M-W
Charles B May		C	Coal master	CE
Anthony Shaw	nc	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W

1870-1871

<u>Burslem</u>				
Joseph Corbett		L	Grocer	
Robert Gilmore		L	Gentleman	
Ralph Hammersley	998	C	Earthenware manufacturer	
John Hope	1003		Earthenware manufacturer	
Thomas Hughes		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Frederick Tennant	C	C	Wine & Spirit merchant	CE
James Vernon	1085	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
George Wigley		L	Spur manufacturer	D
William Woodall		L	China manufacturer	C
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
John Brindley		L	Merchant	
Thomas Diggory	nc	L	Potters' manager	
Edward Pearson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>Sneyd</u>				
Arthur Dean	nc	L	Timber merchant	M-W
Charles B May		C	Coal master	CE
Anthony Shaw		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W

1871-1872

<u>Burslem</u>				
Robert Gilmore		L	Gentleman	
Ralph Hammersley		C	Earthenware manufacturer	
John Hope			Earthenware manufacturer	
Thomas Hughes	1358	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Frederick Tennant		C	Wine & Spirit merchant	CE
James Vernon		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
John Watkin	1070	L	Builder	M-NC
George Wigley		L	Spur manufacturer	D
William Woodall	C 1304	L	China manufacturer	C
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
John Brindley		L	Merchant	
Thomas Diggory		L	Potters' manager	
Robert Emery	nc		Colour manufacturer	
<u>Sneyd</u>				
Arthur Dean		L	Timber merchant	M-W
Joseph Edge	54	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Anthony Shaw		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W

1872-1873

<u>Burslem</u>				
William Boulton	771	L	Ironfounder	M-W
Edward Clarke	658	L/I	Earthenware manufacturer	
Robert Gilmore	989	L	Gentleman	
Ralph Hammersley		C	Earthenware manufacturer	
Thomas Hughes		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Frederick Tennant	731	C	Wine & Spirit merchant	CE
James Vernon		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
John Watkin		L	Builder	M-NC
William Woodall	C	L	China manufacturer	C
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
John Brindley*	nc	L	Merchant	
Thomas Diggory		L	Potters' manager	
Robert Emery			Colour manufacturer	
<u>Sneyd</u>				
Arthur Dean		L	Timber merchant	M-W
Joseph Edge		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Henry Parker	72	C	Brewer	CE

*Died on 1 April 1873

1873-1874-1875

Note: During this period the time of the election was changed from September to March so the Local Board remained in office from September 1873 to March 1875.

<u>Burslem</u>				
William Boulton		L	Ironfounder	M-W
Robert Gilmore		L	Gentleman	
Thomas Hughes	C	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Thomas Hulme (D)	690	L	Gentleman	
William Oakden	591		Draper	
Frederick Tennant		C	Wine & Spirit Merchant	CE
John Watkin		L	Builder	M-NC
George Wigley	735	L	Manufacturer	D
William Woodall		L	China manufacturer	C

<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
Joseph P Emery	245		Colour manufacturer	
Robert Emery			Colour manufacturer	
Thomas Furnival jr	nc		Earthenware manufacturer	

<u>Sneyd</u>				
Joseph Edge		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Henry Parker		C	Brewer	CE
Edward Walley	nc	C	Builder	CE

1875-1876

<u>Burslem</u>				
William Boulton	C	L	Ironfounder	M-W
Thomas Hulme (D)		L	Gentleman	
William Leigh	710	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
William Oakden			Draper	
William E Oulsnam	526		Earthenware manufacturer	
Frederick Tennant		C	ine & Spirit Merchant	CE
John Watkin	530	L	Builder	M-NC
George Wigley		L	Manufacturer	D
William Woodall	1100	L	China manufacturer	C

<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
Joseph P Emery			Colour manufacturer	
Robert Emery	nc		Colour manufacturer	
Thomas Furnival jr	nc		Earthenware manufacturer	

<u>Sneyd</u>				
Charles Midwinter	53		Wine & Spirit merchant	
Henry Parker		C	Brewer	CE
Edward Walley		C	Builder	CE

1876-1877

<u>Burslem</u>				
William Boulton	1375	L	Engineer & Ironfounder	M-W
Alfred Eardley	829		Earthenware manufacturer	
Thomas Hulme (D)	C	L	Gentleman	
William Leigh	945	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
William Oakden			Draper	
William E Oulsnam			Earthenware manufacturer	
John Watkin		L	Builder	M-NC
George Wigley		L	Manufacturer	D
William Woodall		L	China manufacturer	C
<u>Rushton Grange</u>				
Robert Emery			Colour manufacturer	
Spencer Lawton	223	L	Commission agent	M-W
Thomas F Wood	246		Earthenware manufacturer	M-UMF

1876-1877 continued:

		<u>Sneyd</u>	
William M Edge	48	C	Earthenware manufacturer M-W
Charles Midwinter			Wine & Spirit Merchant
Edward Walley		C	Builder CE

1877-1878

		<u>Burslem</u>	
William Boulton		L	Engineer & Ironfounder M-W
Alfred Eardley			Earthenware manufacturer
Thomas Hulme (D)	C 1010	L	Gentleman
William Leigh		L	Earthenware manufacturer M-W
William E Oulsnam			Earthenware manufacturer
Edward Walley	501	C	Builder CE
John Watkin		L	Builder M-NC
George Wigley	717	L	Brick manufacturer D
William Woodall		L	China manufacturer C
		<u>Rushton Grange</u>	
Alfred Boulton	215		Accountant
Spencer Lawton		L	Commission agent M-W
Thomas F Wood			Earthenware manufacturer M-UMF
		<u>Sneyd</u>	
William M Edge		C	Earthenware manufacturer M-W
George B Ford	nc	L	Architect M-W
Charles Midwinter			Wine & Spirit merchant

1878-1878

Note: It was elected in April and sat until the election of the Town Council in August 1878.

		<u>Burslem</u>	
William Boulton		L	Engineer & Ironfounder M-W
Alfred Eardley			Earthenware manufacturer
Thomas Hulme (D)	C	L	Gentleman
William Leigh		L	Earthenware manufacturer M-W
Edward Walley		C	Builder CE
John Watkin	nc	L	Builder M-NC
William Whittingham	nc		Earthenware manufacturer
George Wigley		L	Brick manufacturer D
William Woodall	nc	L	China manufacturer C
		<u>Rushton Grange</u>	
Alfred Boulton			Accountant
Spencer Lawton	nc	L	Commissionagent M-W
T F Wood			Earthenware manufacturer M-UMF
		<u>Sneyd</u>	
William M Edge		C	Earthenware manufacturer M-W
George B Ford		L	Architect M-W
Edmund Wildblood	nc		Earthenware manufacturer

Chapter II - Appendix II

Membership of Town Councils 1878-1910

Key

As for Appendix I (Local Board of Health) plus:-

Column 1 - member retiring ^r
 Column 3 - Labour La
 Column 4 - Trade Unionist T U

1878-1879

Mayor: Ald Thomas Hulme (D)

Aldermen:

William Boulton	16	L	Engineer, ironfounder	M-W
Thomas Hulme (D)	18	L	Gentleman	
Spencer Lawton	9	L	Potters' agent & valuer	M-W
William Leigh	15	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
George Wigley	17	L	Brick manufacturer	D
Thomas F Wood	15		Earthenware manufacturer	M-UMF

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
Richard Clarke	418		Bootmaker	
Alfred J Eardley ^r	424	L	Tile manufacturer	
Thomas Hulme (D)	474	L	Gentleman	
William Leigh	411	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
William Whittingham	528		Earthenware manufacturer	
Thoms Wood	562	C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
<u>South Ward</u>				
William Boulton	712	L	Engineer, ironfounder	M-W
Thomas Derry	313		Auctioneer and valuer	
Thomas Hulme(W) ^r	514	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-UMF
Spencer Lawton	416	L	Potters' agent and valuer	M-W
James Maddock ^r	602	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
William Woodall	654	L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
<u>East Ward</u>				
Henry G Ball ^r	372		Chemist & Druggist	
George B Ford	311	L	Architect	M-W
Samuel Oldham	507	C	Surgeon	CE
George Wigley	399	L	Brick manufacturer	D
Edmund Wildblood	297	C	Colour manufacturer	

Bye-elections after the election of the aldermen:

<u>North Ward</u>				
Joseph Robinson ^r	556	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Wade	498		Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>South Ward</u>				
Ralph Parker	512	L	Commission agent	CE
John Smith	518		Grocer	
<u>East Ward</u>				
Verner Graham ^{r*}	337		Wine & Spirit merchant	
James Vernon jr	583		Earthenware manufacturer	

* Graham resigned in August 1879.

1879-1880 Mayor: Cllr James Maddock

Aldermen: unchanged

Councillors

<u>North Ward</u>				
Richard Clarke			Bootmaker	
John W Knight	575	C	Butcher	CE
Joseph Robinson	494	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Wade			Earthenware manufacturer	
William Whittingham ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	
Thomas Wood ^r		C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
<u>South Ward</u>				
Thomas Derry			Auctioneer and valuer	
Thomas Hulme (W)	nc	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-UMF
James Maddock	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Ralph Parker ^r		L	Commission agent	CE
John Smith ^r			Grocer	
William Woodall ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
<u>East Ward</u>				
H G Ball	nc		Chemist & Druggist	
Francis J Emery	nc		Earthenware manufacturer	
G B Ford		L	Architect	M-W
Samuel Oldham ^r		C	Surgeon	CE
James Vernon ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	
Edmund Wildblood		C	Colour manufacturer	

1880-1881 Mayor: Cllr James Maddock

Aldermen: Lawton, Leigh and Wood re-elected with 12, 12 and 20 votes

Councillors

<u>North Ward</u>				
Edwin J D Bodley ^r	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Richard Clarke ^r			Bootmaker	
J W Knight		C	Butcher	CE
Joseph Robinson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Wade ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	
Thomas Wood		C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
<u>South Ward</u>				
Thomas Derry ^r			Auctioneer & Valuer	
Thomas Hales	609		Surgeon	
Thomas Hulme (W)		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-UMF
James Maddock		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Ralph Parker ^r		L	Commission agent	CE
William Woodall	502	L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
<u>East Ward</u>				
H G Ball			Chemist & Druggist	
F J Emery			Earthenware manufacturer	
G B Ford		L	Architect	M-W
Samuel Oldham	539	C	Surgeon	CE
James Vernon	632		Earthenware manufacturer	
Edmund Wildblood ^r		C	Colour manufacturer	

1881-1882 Mayor: Ald William Boulton

Aldermen: unchanged

Councillors

<u>North Ward</u>				
E J D Bodley		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Richard Clarke	nc		Bootmaker	
J W Knight ^r		I/C	Butcher	CE
James Malkin	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Joseph Robinson ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Wood		C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
<u>South Ward</u>				
Thomas Derry	nc		Auctioneer and valuer	
Thomas Hales			Surgeon	
Thomas Hulme (W) ^r		C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-UMF
James Maddock ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Ralph Parker	nc	L	Commission agent	CE
William Woodall		L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
<u>East Ward</u>				
H G Ball ^r			Chemist and druggist	
William Bratt	nc	I/C	Grocer	M-W
F J Emery ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	
G B Ford	nc	L	Architect	M-W
Samuel Oldham		C	Surgeon	CE
James Vernon			Earthenware manufacturer	

1882-1883 Mayor: Cllr Thomas Hulme (W)

Aldermen: unchanged

Councillors

<u>North Ward</u>				
E J D Bodley ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
J W Knight	nc	C	Butcher	CE
James Malkin		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Joseph Robinson	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Smith*	495		Grocer	
Thomas Wood ^r		C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
<u>South Ward</u>				
Thomas Derry ^r			Auctioneer and valuer	
Thomas Hales ^r			Surgeon	
Thomas Hulme (W)	nc	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-UMF
James Maddock	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Ralph Parker		L	Commission agent	CE
William Woodall ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
<u>East Ward</u>				
H G Ball	nc		Chemist & Druggist	
William Bratt		C/I	Grocer	M-W
F J Emery	nc		Earthenware manufacturer	
G B Ford		L	Architect	M-W
Samuel Oldham ^r		C	Surgeon	CE
James Vernon ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	

* Cllr Richard Clarke resigned, a casual election was held on 27 Nov 1882

1883-1884 Mayor: Cllr George Beardmore Ford

Aldermen:

Boulton, Hulme (D) and Wigley were re-elected with 19 votes each.
Thomas Hulme (D) died on 4 March 1884 and Cllr James Maddock was elected alderman in his place.

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
E J D Bodley	578	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
J W Knight		C	Butcher	CE
James Malkin ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Joseph Robinson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Smith ^r			Gentleman	
Thomas Wood	477	C	Earthenware Manufacturer	CE
<u>South Ward</u>				
Thomas Derry ^r			Auctioneer & Valuer	
John Wilcox Edge	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W)		C	Gentleman	M-UMF
James Maddock*		L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Ralph Parker ^r		L	Commission agent	CE
William Till	nc		Metal mounter & manufacturer	
<u>East Ward</u>				
H G Ball			Chemist & Druggist	
William Bratt ^r		C/I	Grocer	M-W
F J Emery ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	
G B Ford ^r		L	Architect	M-W
Samuel Oldham	497	C	Surgeon	CE
James Vernon	501		Earthenware manufacturer	

* In the casual election in April 1884 after Maddock's election to alderman:
Charles Bloor 494 Potters' agent was elected councillor.

1884-1885 Mayor: Cllr George B Ford

Aldermen: unchanged

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
Robert Bew	566		Innkeeper	
E J D Bodley		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
J W Knight*		C	Butcher	CE
Joseph Robinson ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Smith	520		Gentleman	
Thomas Wood		C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
<u>South Ward</u>				
Charles Bloor ^r			Potters' agent	
J Wilcox Edge		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W) ^r		C	Gentleman	M-UMF
John Edwin Oakes	527		Potters' saggarmaker	
Ralph Parker	612	L	Commission agent	CE
William Till			Metal mounter and amunufacturer	
<u>East Ward</u>				
H G Ball ^r			Chemist & Druggist	
William Bratt	nc	C/I	Grocer	M-W
F J Emery ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	
G B Ford	nc	L	Architect	M-W
Samuel Oldham		C	Surgeon	CE
James Vernon			Earthenware manufacturer	

* J W Knight died 17 November 1885 and was replaced by:
Arthur J Wilkinson^r nc Earthenware manufacturer ?M-W

1885-1886 Mayor: Cllr Samuel Oldham

Aldermen: unchanged

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
Robert Bew			Innkeeper	
E J D Bodley ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Joseph Robinson	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Smith			Gentleman	
A J Wilkinson	nc		Earthenware manufacturer	?M-W
Thomas Wood ^r		C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
<u>South Ward</u>				
Charles Bloor	nc		Potters' agent	
J Wilcox Edge ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W)	nc	C	Gentleman	M-UMF
J E Oakes			Potters' saggarmaker	
Ralph Parker		L	Commission agent	CE
William Till ^r			Metal mounter & manufacturer	
<u>East Ward</u>				
H G Ball	nc		Chemist & Druggist	
William Bratt		C/I	Grocer	M-W
F J Emery	nc		Earthenware manufacturer	
G B Ford		L	Architect	M-W
Samuel Oldham ^r		C	Surgeon	CE
James Vernon ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	

1886-1887 Mayor: Ald Spencer Lawton

Aldermen: Lawton, Leigh and T F Wood were re-elected with 17, 18 and 17 votes.

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
Robert Bew ^r			Innkeeper	
E J D Bodley	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Joseph Robinson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Smith			Gentleman	
A J Wilkinson			Earthenware manufacturer	?M-W
Thomas Wood	nc	C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
<u>South Ward</u>				
Charles Bloor			Potters' agent	
J Wilcox Edge	824	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W)		C	Gentleman	M-UMF
J E Oakes ^r			Potters' saggarmaker	
Ralph Parker ^r		L	Commission agent	CE
Robert Sudlow	736	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
H G Ball			Chemist & Druggist	
William Bratt ^r		C/I	Grocer	M-W
F J Emery			Earthenware manufacturer	
G B Ford ^r		L	Architect	M-W
Samuel Oldham*	444	C	Surgeon	CE
James Vernon**	436		Earthenware manufacturer	

* S Oldham died on 12 February 1887 and was replaced in the casual election
 Enoch Edwards nc L Miners' agent (T U) M-P

** J Vernon died on 19 July 1887 and was replaced in an August election by
 John Bennett 482 ?Grocer

1887-1888 Mayor: Cllr Joseph Robinson

Aldermen: unchanged

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
E J D Bodley		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Thomas Derry	504		Post master	
Joseph Robinson ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Smith	540		Gentleman	
A J Wilkinson ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	?M-W
Thomas Wood		C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
<u>South Ward</u>				
Charles Bloor ^r			Potters' agent	
J Wilcox Edge		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W) ^r		C	Gentleman	M-UMF
J E Oakes	nc		Potters' saggarmaker	
Ralph Parker	nc	L	Commission agent	CE
Robert Sudlow		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
H G Ball ^r			Chemist & Druggist	
John Bennett			?Grocer	
William Bratt	nc	C/I	Grocer	M-W
Enoch Edwards		L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
F J Emery ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	
G B Ford	nc	L	Architect	M-W

1888-1889 Mayor: Ald Thomas F Wood

Aldermen: W Leigh died on 23 February 1889 and was replaced by Cllr T Wood.
G Wigley died on 1 July 1889 and was replaced by Cllr G B Ford.

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
E J D Bodley ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
Thomas Derry			Post master	
Joseph Robinson	628	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Smith*			Gentleman	
A J Wilkinson	593		Earthenware manufacturer	?M-W
Thomas Wood**		C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
<u>South Ward</u>				
Charles Bloor	nc		potters' agent	
J Wilcox Edge ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W)	nc	C	Gentleman	M-UMF
J E Oakes			Potters' saggarmaker	
Ralph Parker		L	Commission agent	CE
Robert Sudlow ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
H G Ball	nc		Chemist & Druggist	
John Bennett			?Grocer	
William Bratt		C/I	Grocer	M-W
Enoch Edwards ^r		L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
F J Emery	nc		Earthenware manufacturer	
G B Ford***		L	Architect	M-W

* J Smith resigned July 1889 and in a casual elction August 1889 was replaced by
Thomas Arrowsmith 751 L Spur manufacturer M-W

** Ald T Wood was replaced in a casual election in April 1889 by:
John Brindley^r nc Timber merchant M-W

*** Ald G B Ford was replaced in a casual election in August 1889 by:
Frederic M Julian 500 Solicitor

1889-1890 Mayor: Cllr John Wilcox Edge

Aldermen:

William Boulton	17	L	Engineer and ironfounder	M-W
George B Ford	18	L	Architect	M-W
Spencer Lawton		L	Potters' agent & valuer	M-W
Joseph Robinson	15	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Wood		C	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Thomas F Wood			Earthenware manufacturer	M-UMF

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
Thomas Arrowsmith ^r		L	Spur manufacturer	M-W
E J D Bodley	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
John Brindley ^r	nc		Timber merchant	M-W
Thomas Derry ^r			Post master	
William Till*			Metal mounter & manufacturer	
A J Wilkinson			Earthenware manufacturer	?M-W
<u>South Ward</u>				
Charles Bloor			Potters' agent	
J Wilcox Edge	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W) ^r		C	Gentleman	M-UMF
J E Oakes ^r			School attendance officer	
Ralph Parker ^r		L	Commission agent	CE
Robert Sudlow	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
H G Ball			Chemist & Druggist	
John Bennett	nc		?Grocer	
William Bratt ^r		C/I	Grocer	M-W
Enoch Edwards	nc	L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
F J Emery ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	
F M Julian ^r			Solicitor	

* Cllr J Robinson elected alderman and in the casual election was replaced by: William Till.

1890-1891 Mayor: Cllr J Wilcox Edge

Aldermen: unchanged

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
Thomas Arrowsmith	nc	L	Spur manufacturer	M-W
E J D Bodley		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
John Brindley			Timber merchant	M-W
Thomas Derry ^r	nc		Post master	
William Till ^r			Metal mounter & manufacturer	
A J Wilkinson*			Earthenware manufacturer	?M-W
<u>South Ward</u>				
Charles Bloor ^r			Potters' agent	
J Wilcox Edge		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W) ^r		C	Gentleman	M-UMF
J E Oakes	328		School attendance officer	
Ralph Parker	335	L	Commission agent	CE
Robert Sudlow		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
H G Ball			Chemist & Druggist	
John Bennett			?Grocer	
William Bratt	nc	C/I	Grocer	M-W
Enoch Edwards		L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
F J Emery ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	
F M Julian	nc		Solicitor	

* A J Wilkinson died on 12 May 1891 and in a casual election was replaced by: James Bowden^r Builder M-NC

1891-1892 Mayor: Cllr Robert Sudlow

Aldermen: unchanged

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
Thomas Arrowsmith		L	Spur manufacturer	M-W
E J D Bodley*		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
James Bowden	nc	L	Builder	M-NC
John Brindley ^r			Timber merchant	M-W
Thomas Derry			Post master	
William E Oulsnam jr	nc		Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>South Ward</u>				
Charles Bloor	nc		Colour manufacturer	
J Wilcox Edge ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W)	nc	C	Gentleman	M-UMF
J E Oakes			School attendance officer	
Ralph Parker		L	Commission agent	CE
Robert Sudlow ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
John Bennett ^r			?Grocer	
William Bratt		C/I	Grocer	M-W
Enoch Edwards ^r		L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Thomas Edwards	753		Potters' fireman (T U)	
F M Julian			Solicitor	
William Owen	775	L	Journalist	M-W

* E J D Bodley resigned and in a casual election was replaced by:
Edmund Leigh^r L Earthenware manufacturer

1892-1893 Mayor: Ald William Boulton

Aldermen: unchanged

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
Thomas Arrowsmith ^r		L	Spur manufacturer	M-W
James Boulton	nc		Tailor	
James Bowden		L	Builder	M-NC
Thomas Derry ^r			Post master	
Edmund Leigh	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
William E Oulsnam			Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>South Ward</u>				
Charles Bloor			Colour manufacturer	
J Wilcox Edge	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W)		C	Gentleman	M-UMF
J E Oakes ^r			School attendance officer	
Ralph Parker ^r		L	Commission agent	CE
Robert Sudlow	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
John Bennett	nc		?Grocer	
William Bratt ^r		C/I	Grocer	M-W
Enoch Edwards	nc	L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Thomas Edwards			Potters' fireman (T U)	
F M Julian ^r			Solicitor	
William Owen		L	Journalist	M-W

1893-1894 Mayor: Ald Spencer Lawton

Aldermen: Unchanged

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
Thomas Arrowsmith	609	L	Spur manufacturer	M-W
James Boultr			Tailor	
James Bowden ^r		L	Builder	M-NC
Thomas Derry	594		Post master	
Edmund Leigh		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
William Lovatt ^r			Tailor & Outfitter	
<u>South Ward</u>				
Charles Bloor ^r			Colour manufacturer	
William Cartlidge	684	L	Oven builder	M-P
J Wilcox Edge		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W) ^r		C	Gentleman	M-UMF
Ralph Parker	676	L	Commission agent	CE
Robert Sudlow		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
William Bratt	961	C/I	Grocer	M-W
William W Dobson	1068	C	Brewery director	CE
Enoch Edwards		L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Thomas Edwards ^r			Ovenmen's agent (T U)	
William Heath ^{**}		L	Colliery director	C
William Owen ^r		L	Journalist	M-W

* W E Oulsnam resigned and was replaced by W Lovatt

**J Bennett resigned and was replaced by W Heath

1894-1895 Mayor: Ald Spencer Lawton

Aldermen: J Robinson resigned and was replaced by Cllr R Parker.

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
Thomas Arrowsmith		L	Spur manufacturer	M-W
James Boultr			Tailor	
Thomas Derry*			Post master	
Edmund Leigh ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
William Lovatt	659		Tailor & Outfitter	
George Wade	683	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>South Ward</u>				
Charles Bloor	nc		Colour manufacturer	
William Cartlidge		L	Oven builder	M-P
J Wilcox Edge ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W)	nc	C	Gentleman	M-UMF
J E Oakes**			School attendance officer	
Robert Sudlow ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
William Bratt		C/I	Grocer	M-W
W W Dobson		C	Brewery director	CE
Thomas Downing ^r	655		Licensed victualler	
Enoch Edwards		L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Thomas Edwards ^r	683		Ovenmen's agent (T U)	
William Heath ^r		L	Colliery director	C

* T Derry resigned and was replaced by
James Bowden L Builder M-NC

** R Parker was elected alderman and replaced by J E Oakes.

1895-1896 Mayor: Ald Thomas Wood

Aldermen: R Parker died on 10 november 1895 and was replaced by Cllr T Arrowsmith.

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
Joseph Boulton ^r	597		Joiner (T U)	
James Bowden		L	Builder	M-NC
Edmund Leigh	638	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
William Lovatt			Tailor & Outfitter	
William Owen* ^r		L	Journalist	M-W
George Wade		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>South Ward</u>				
Charles Bloor			Colour manufacturer	
William Cartlidge		L	Oven builder	M-P
J Wilcox Edge	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W)		C	Gentleman	M-UMF
J E Oakes ^r			School attendance officer	
Robert Sudlow	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
William Bratt ^r		C/I	Grocer	M-W
W W Dobson ^r		C	Brewery director	CE
Thomas Downing			Licensed victualler	
Enoch Edwards	nc	L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Thomas Edwards			Ovenmen's agent (T U)	
William Heath	nc	L	Colliery director	C

* W Owen replaced Ald Arrowsmith

1896-1897 Mayor: Ald Thomas Arrowsmith

Aldermen: T Wood died on 21 January 1897 and was replaced by Cllr W Bratt.

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
Joseph Boulton*			Joiner (T U)	
James Bowden	nc	L	Builder	M-NC
Edmund Leigh		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
William Lovatt ^r			Tailor & Outfitter	
William Owen ^r	nc	L	Journalist	M-W
George Wade ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>South Ward</u>				
Charles Bloor ^r			Colour manufacturer	
William Cartlidge	nc	L	Oven builder	M-P
J Wilcox Edge		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W) ^r		C	Gentleman	M-UMF
William Jackson	nc		Crate manufacturer	
Robert Sudlow		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
William Bratt**	nc	C/I	Grocer	M-W
W W Dobson	nc	C	Brewery director	CE
Thomas Downing ^r			Retired innkeeper	
Enoch Edwards		L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Thomas Edwards ^r			Ovenmen's agent (T U)	
William Heath		L	Colliery director	C

* J Boulton resigned and was replaced in July 1897 by:
George Lindop 888 Builder

** W Bratt was elected an alderman and in the election was replaced by;
Joseph Sargeant 717 Butcher

1897-1898 Mayor: Cllr William Warrington Dobson

Aldermen: Arrowsmith, Boulton, Bratt, Ford, Lawton & Wood

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
James Bowden ^r		L	Builder	m NC
Edmund Leigh ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
George Lindop ^r			Builder	
William Lovatt	nc		Tailor & Outfitter	
William Owen		L	Journalist	M-W
George Wade	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
<u>South Ward</u>				
William Cartlidge		L	Oven builder	M-P
J Wilcox Edge ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
William Jackson			Crate manufacturer	
William Martin	nc		Butcher	
Frederick W Mason	nc		Grocer	
Robert Sudlow ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
Alfred H Corn	829	C	Earthenware manufacturer	
W W Dobson		C	Brewery director	CE
Enoch Edwards ^r		L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Thomas Edwards	986		Ovenmen's agent (T U)	
William Heath ^r		L	Colliery director	C
Joseph Sargeant			Butcher	

1898-1899 Mayor: Ald William Bratt

Aldermen: unchanged

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
James Bowden ^r		L	Builder - retired	M-NC
Samuel Gibson	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
Edmund Leigh	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
William Lovatt			Tailor & Outfitter	
William Owen ^r		L	Journalist - retired	M-W
George Wade		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
<u>South Ward</u>				
William Cartlidge ^r		L	Oven builder	M-P
J Wilcox Edge	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
William Jackson ^r			Crate manufacturer	
William Martin*			Butcher	
F W Mason			Grocer	
Robert Sudlow	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
A H Corn		C	Earthenware manufacturer	
W W Dobson ^r		C	Brewery director	CE
Enoch Edwards	nc	L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Thomas Edwards			Ovenmen's agent (T U)	
William Heath	nc	L	Colliery director	C
Joseph Sargeant ^r			Butcher	

* W Martin resigned and was replaced in the casual election of April 1899 by:
J W Brindley 616 Timber merchant M-W

1899-1900 Mayor: Cllr Enoch Edwards

Aldermen: W Boulton died on 29 October 1900

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
James Bowden	nc	L	Builder - retired	M-NC
Samuel Gibson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
Edmund Leigh		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
William Lovatt ^r			Tailor & Outfitter	
William Owen ^r		L	Journalist - retired	M-W
George Wade ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
<u>South Ward</u>				
John W Brindley ^r			Timber merchant	M-W
William Cartlidge	nc	L	Oven builder	M-P
J Wilcox Edge		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Johnson	nc		Pottery dipper	
F W Mason ^r			Grocer	
Robert Sudlow		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
A H Corn ^r		C	Earthenware manufacturer	
W W Dobson	nc	C	Brewery director	CE
Enoch Edwards		L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Thomas Edwards ^r			Ovenmen's agent (T U)	
William Heath		L	Colliery director	C
Joseph Sargeant	nc		Butcher	

1900-1901 Mayor: Cllr James Bowden

Aldermen: W Boulton's vacancy was filled by Cllr Wilcox Edge in February 1901. S Lawton died on 17 August 1901 and Cllr R Sudlow was elected on October 1901. G B Ford resigned at the end of the year.

<u>North Ward</u>				
James Bowden		L	Builder - retired	M-NC
Samuel Gibson ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
Edmund Leigh ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
William Lovatt	nc		Tailor & Outfitter	
William Owen		L	Journalist - retired	M-W
George Wade	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
<u>South Ward</u>				
J W Brindley	816		Timber merchant	M-W
William Cartlidge		L	Oven builder	M-P
J Wilcox Edge*		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Johnson** ^r			Pottery dipper	
Sydney Malkin	837	L	Tile manufacturer	M-W
Robert Sudlow ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
<u>East Ward</u>				
A H Corn	nc	C	Earthenware manufacturer	
W W Dobson		C	Brewery director	CE
Enoch Edwards ^r		L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Thomas Edwards ^r	nc		Ovenmen's agent	
William Heath ^r		L	Colliery director	C

* J W Edge elected alderman and in his place
Thomas Willett Engineer C

** T Johnson died in June 1901 and was replaced by:
Daniel Porter Insurance agent

1901-1902 Mayor: Cllr William Lovatt

Aldermen:

Thomas Arrowsmith	12	L	Spur manufacturer	M-W
William Bratt		C/I	Grocer	M-W
J Wilcox Edge	12	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Enoch Edwards	12	L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Robert Sudlow		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
T F Wood			Earthenware manufacturer	M-UMF

Councillors:

North Ward

James Bowden ^r		L	Builder - retired	M-NC
Samuel Gibson	1043	L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
Edmund Leigh	1045	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
William Lovatt			Tailor & Outfitter	
William Owen ^r		L	Journalist - retired	M-W
George Wade		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W

South Ward

J W Brindley			Timber merchant	M-W
Alfred Capper	nc		Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
William Cartlidge ^r		L	Oven builder	M-P
Sydney Malkin		L	Tile manufacturer	M-W
Daniel Porter ^r			Insurance agent	
Thomas Willett		L	Engineer	C

East Ward

A H Corn		C	Earthenware manufacturer	
W W Dobson ^r		C	Brewery director	CE
Thomas Edwards	nc		Ovenmen's agent (T U)	
James Grant*	1056		Builder	
William Heath**	nc	L	Colliery director	C
Joseph Sargeant ^r			Butcher	

*J Grant was elected to the vacancy of E Edwards after his election as alderman.

** W Heath resigned at the end of the Council's term.

1902-1903 Mayor: Cllr William Lovatt

Aldermen: unchanged

Councillors:

North Ward

James Bowden*	nc	L	Builder - retired	M-NC
Samuel Gibson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
Edmund Leigh**		L	Earthenware manufacturer	
William Lovatt ^r			tailor & outfitter	
William Owen ^r	nc	L	Journalist - retired	M-W
George Wade ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W

South Ward

J W Brindley ^r			Timber merchant	M-W
Alfred Capper			Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
William Cartlidge	719	L	Oven builder	M-P
Sydney Malkin ^r		L	Tile manufacturer	M-W
Daniel Porter	651		Insurance agent	
Thomas Willett		L	Engineer	C

East Ward

A H Corn ^r		C	Earthenware manufacturer	
J Davison	nc		?Earthenware manufacturer	
W W Dobson	nc	C	Brewery director	CE
Thomas Edwards ^r			Ovenmen's agent (T U)	
James Grant			Builder	
Joseph Sargeant	nc		Butcher	

1903-1904 Mayor: Cllr John W Brindley

Aldermen: T Arrowsmith resigned at the end of the previous year and was replaced by Cllr T Edwards.

Councillors:

		<u>North Ward</u>		
Samuel Finney	845	L	Miners' agent	M-P
Samuel Gibson ^r		L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
Samuel Johnson			Earthenware manufacturer	
William Lovatt	1264		Tailor & Outfitter	
Thomas Mitchell ^r			Tailor & Outfitter	M-W
William Owen*		L	Journalist - retired	M-W

		<u>South Ward</u>		
J W Brindley	625		Timber merchant	M-W
Alfred Capper** ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
William Cartlidge		L	Oven builder	M-P
Noah Parkes	718		T U agent, prntrs, trnsfrrs	
Daniel Porter			Insurance agent	
Thomas Willett ^r		L	Engineer	C

		<u>East Ward</u>		
J Davison ^r			?Earthenware manufacturer	
W W Dobson		C	Brewery director	CE
James Grant ^r			Builder	
Sydney Malkin	nc	L	Tile manufacturer	M-W
Joseph Sargeant			Butcher	
Samuel J Simpson	nc	C	Earthenware manufacturer	

* W Owen resigned May 1904 amd was replaced by
Alfred E Lovatt nc T U

**A Capper resigned but his place was left vacant.

1904-1905 Mayor: Mr Thomas Hulme (W) - died on 26 August 1905 and
Ald J W Edge was acting mayor.

Aldermen: Ald T F Wood had resigned and Cllr W Cartlidge was elected to the vacancy with 19 votes; W Bratt and W Lovatt were elected with 19 and 18 votes. Lovatt to R Sudlow's vacancy.

		<u>North Ward</u>		
Samuel Finney		L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Samuel Gibson	nc	L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
Samuel Johnson ^r			Earthenware manuacturer	
A E Lovatt ^r		La		
Thomas Mitchell	nc		Tailor & Outfitter	M-W
George Tompkinson	nc		Blast furnacemen's agent (T U)	

		<u>South Ward</u>		
J W Brindley*			Timber merchant	M-W
John Paterson Brodie ^r	nc		Accountant	
Samuel Ford	nc		Earthenware manufacturer	
Noah Parkes			T U agent, printers & transferrers	
Daniel Porter ^r			Insurance agent	
Thomas Willett		L	Engineer	C

		<u>East Ward</u>		
J Davison	nc		?Earthenware manufacturer	
W W Dobson ^r		C	Brewery director	CE
Sydney Malkin		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
William E Robinson	nc	L	Potters' merchant	M-NC
Joseph Sargeant ^r			Butcher	
S J Simpson		C	Earthenware manufacturer	

* J W Brindley resigned October 1905.

1905-1906 Mayor: Cllr/Ald William Warrington Dobson

Aldermen:

William Bratt	C/I	Grocer	M-W
William Cartlidge	L	Oven builder	M-P
J Wilcox Edge	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Enoch Edwards*	L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Thomas Edwards		Ovenmen's agent (T U)	
William Lovatt**		Tailor & Outfitter	

*E Edwards resigned April 1906 and was replaced by Cllr W W Dobson.

** W Lovatt resigned and Cllr S Malkin was elected to the vacancy.

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>			
Samuel Finney ^r	L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
Samuel Gibson ^r	L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
Samuel Johnson	nc	Earthenware manufacturer	
A E Lovatt ^{res}	nc	La	
Thomas Mitchell		Tailor & Outfitter	M-W
George Tompkinson*		Blast furnacemen's agent (T U)	
<u>South Ward</u>			
Frederick Averill ^r	nc	Grocer	
J Paterson Brodie	nc	Accountant	
Samuel Ford		Earthenware manufacturer	
Noah Parkes ^r		T U agent, printers & transferrers	
Daniel Porter		Insurance agent	
Thomas Willett	L	Insurance agent	C
<u>East Ward</u>			
J Davison**		?Earthenware manufacturer	
W W Dobson***	nc	C Brewery director	CE
Sydney Malkin****		L Tile manufacturer	M-W
W E Robinson		L Potters' merchant	M-NC
Joseph Sargeant	nc	Butcher	
S J Simpson ^r		C Earthenware manufacturer	

* G Tompkinson died on 24 August 1906 and his place was left vacant

** J Davison resigned in June 1906 and was replaced by:

Stephen Chadwick	nc	Butcher
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*** W W Dobson was elected an alderman and was replaced by:

Thomas S Green	nc	Grocer & Baker	CE
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**** S Malkin was elected an alderman and was replaced by:

John Jackson	nc	Builder
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Cllr A E Lovatt resigned at the end of the year of office.

1906-1907 Mayor: Mr Samuel Gibson

Aldermen: Bratt, Cartlidge, Dobson, Edge, Edwards, T., Malkin.

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
John H Broadhurst	nc	C	Builder	CE
Samuel Finney	nc	L	Miners' agent	M-P
Arthur H Gibson ^r	nc		Earthenware manufacturer	C
Samuel Johnson			Earthenware manufacturer	
Thomas Mitchell ^r			Tailor & Outfitter	M-W
George Wade		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
<u>South Ward</u>				
Frederick Averill	nc		Grocer	
J Paterson Brodie			Accountant	
Samuel Ford ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	
Noah Parkes	nc		T U agent	
Daniel Porter			Insurance agent	
Thomas Willett ^r		L	Engineer	C
<u>East Ward</u>				
Stephen Chadwick ^r			Butcher	
John H Edwards	679		Coal merchant	
Thomas S Green			Grocer & Baker	CE
John Jackson ^r	485		Builder	
W E Robinson		L	Potters' merchant	M-NC

1907-1908 Mayor: Ald Sydney Malkin

Aldermen: unchanged

Councillors:

<u>North Ward</u>				
J H Broadhurst		C	Builder	CE
Samuel Finney		L	Miners' agent	M-P
A H Gibson	nc		Earthenware manufacturer	
Samuel Johnson ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	
Thomas Mitchell	nc		Tailor & Outfitter	M-W
George Wade ^r			Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
<u>South Ward</u>				
Frederick Averill			Grocer	
J Paterson Brodie ^r			Accountant	
Samuel Gibson	957	L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
Noah Parkes			T U agent	
Daniel Porter ^r			Insurance agent	
Thomas Willett		L	Engineer	C
<u>East Ward</u>				
Thomas Bentley	459	C	Licensed victualler	CE
J H Edwards			Coal merchant	
T S Green ^r			Grocer & Baker	
John Jackson			Builder	
W E Robinson	1208	L	Potters' merchant	M-NC
Joseph Sargeant ^r			Butcher	

1908-1909-1910

Mayor: Ald Thomas Edwards

Aldermen:

William Bratt	C/I	Grocer	M-W
William Cartlidge	L	Oven builder	M-P
W W Dobson	C	Brewery director	CE
J Wilcox Edge	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Edwards		Ovenmen's agent (T U)	
Sydney Malkin	L	Tile manufacturer	M-W

Councillors:

		<u>North Ward</u>		
J H Broadhurst		C	Builder	CE
Samuel Finney		L	Miners' agent (T U)	M-P
A H Gibson			Earthenware manufacturer	
Thomas Mitchell			Tailor & Outfitter	M-W
Henry Saunders	1233		Baker	
George Wade	1323	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
		<u>South Ward</u>		
Frederick Averill			Grocer	
Samuel Gibson		L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
John Kearns	nc		Marine store dealer	
Noah Parkes			T U agent/Manager-Labour Exchange	
Daniel Porter	nc		Insurance agent	
Thomas Willett		L	Engineer	C
		<u>East Ward</u>		
Thomas Bentley		C	Licensed victualler	CE
J H Edwards			Coal merchant	
T S Green	nc		Grocer & Baker	
John Jackson			Builder	
W E Robinson		L	Potters' merchant	M-NC
Joseph Sargeant	nc		Butcher	

The Council remained in office until 31 March 1910.

CHAPTER III

RELIGION

Since religion was a vital part of the life of Burslem and its inhabitants the clergy and pastors were leading figures in the community, taking an important part in local affairs, in local societies and in branches of national societies and movements. Many leading lay persons were also prominent in their particular churches. The churches and chapels were not just centres for worship, they provided schooling both on weekdays and on Sundays, and they were important centres of social activity. In spite of this the 1851 religious census revealed that those who actually attended places of worship were in a minority and by the end of the century they were a declining minority. The population increase and the consequential chapel building programme disguised the decline but it nevertheless existed.

Numerically the non-conformists formed the largest religious group, followed by the Church of England with the Roman Catholics a small minority. The non-conformists were divided into a number of sects, the Baptists, the Congregationalists and, by far the largest, the Methodists, though again they were split into four different groups, the Wesleyans, the United Free Methodists, the New Connexion Methodists and the Primitive Methodists. At various times other denominations, including the Latter Day Saints and the Salvation Army, appeared in Burslem.

BURSLEM CHURCH.



In the background:

ST. JOHN'S NATIONAL SCHOOLS 1817

Section I

The Church of England

Until 1807 Burslem formed part of the parish of Stoke-upon-Trent, the chapel of St John the Baptist dated back at least to the sixteenth century and possibly further. It became the parish church of the township of Burslem, the hamlet of Sneyd and the ville of Rushton Grange which made up the new parish and the benefice was made a rectory.

With the growing population one church became insufficient and Dalehall was the first area to have its own church when in 1831 St Paul's was consecrated as a chapel-of-ease. In 1841 Rushton Grange had a chapel-of-ease in Christ Church. Both areas were created District Chapelries in 1845. Sneyd had its own church of Holy Trinity in 1852 though it had existed as a parish since 1844, services being held in temporary accommodation. Thereafter no new parishes were formed until 1939 though mission rooms and churches were provided.

Parish Church of St John the Baptist¹

Nearly always known as the Parish Church or the Old Church it was situated some little distance from the town centre just west of the Waterloo Road. The surrounding potworks, including the Churchyard works on the perimeter of the graveyard, made for a very smoky atmosphere especially on Sundays when most of the manufacturers fired their ovens to be ready for the following week. There was a heavily polluted stream just to the south of the churchyard in 1849 and the surrounding housing was less than salubrious.²

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1. History of the Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent - John Ward p221-225
 2. Report to the General Board of Health - William Lee p.16.

The building consisted of a stone tower of uncertain date but thought to be sixteenth century, the rest of the building was built of brick in 1717 and enlarged in 1788 giving dimensions of an external length of 78 feet and a breadth of 48 feet. Over 1876-1879 some £2,000 was spent on renovating the building including the installation of wooden galleries along the sides and back of the church. The organ installed in 1792 was replaced and modern pews were substituted for the old ones. The bells, six of them, were hung in 1827 and were turned and rehung in 1911.³

The income of the church came from tithes and land. The tithes had been commuted to a tithe rent charge, the glebe land originally around Waterloo Road was sold for building and the proceeds invested. During the latter part of the nineteenth century a farm was purchased at Brown Edge, it was called the Morris House Farm and consisted of 56½ acres.⁴ In 1851 the value of the benefice was given as £509, in 1875 as £400, in 1892 as £321, in 1908 as £335 and in 1910 as £370. Therefore the Rector was financially worse off at the end of the century than he had been at the middle of the century. Included in the value of the income was the Rectory House. The first Rectory house was built in 1827 from the proceeds of the sale of the Glebe land. It was sited on what was then open land called Wilberstones, later known as Middleport, about half a mile from the church on Newport Lane. That house was demolished in 1905 and the site became Middleport Park, opened in 1909. The Rector moved to 228 Waterloo Road, a more convenient site.⁵

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3. A Short Historical Survey of Burslem Parish Church - Rev. A.L. Lumb revised by the Rev. P.L.C. Smith, new edition 1969. p.1
 4. The farm was sold in December 1948, though legal complications continued for some time afterwards (Information from the Rector of the Parish Church and documents held at the Church).
 5. Whites Directory, 1851, Keates' Directory 1875, Kelly's Directory 1892, Kelly's Directory 1908, Lichfield Diocesan Church Calendar 1910 Burslem Parish Registers - P.W.L. Adams 1913
Staffordshire Advertiser - 1 January 1910

The advowson changed hands several times. In 1850 the Rev. Charles Hebert purchased it for £3,500 from the Misses Adams of Cobridge, he sold it for the same sum to his successor, the Rev. Dr. Armstrong, in 1858. Shortly before his departure it was purchased by Dr. John Morris who presented his son-in-law to the benefice in 1869. Dr. Morris died in 1869 and the Rev. Alfred Watton took over the advowson, the next Rector was presented by the widowed Mrs. Watton who was still patron in 1892 but by 1899 Robert Heath junior had purchased it and he presented the succeeding Rector in 1904.⁶

The churchyard provided a problem. It was too small for the needs of the population and its lowlying situation together with the clay subsoil meant that it quickly became waterlogged and unsuitable for burial purposes. It was enlarged to about two acres in 1802, in 1848 it was again enlarged to about 3½ acres. Interments in the original graveyard could only take place in existing brick vaults the new ground was expected to be filled in a fairly short time especially as many of the interments were of non-residents. In 1856 an Order in Council severely restricted burials and another Order in Council in 1881 forbade any new burials at all. This was defied by the Rector in the case of still-born children and complaints were made on that score in 1886. Burials in existing vaults were permitted and took place well into the twentieth century.

6. - Staffordshire Advertiser - 8 January 1859
Burslem Parish Registers - P.W.L. Adams 1913
The Archdeaconry of Stoke-upon-Trent - Hutchinson 1893

The Rector of the parish from 1850 to 1858 was the Rev. Charles Hebert. He was in his 43rd year when he took over from a non-resident Rector and went to Burslem from Lechlade in Gloucestershire. Hebert quickly became highly esteemed and was made Rural Dean in October 1850. He was successful in reducing the controversy over church rates by not insisting on a compulsory rate for dissenters and as a result the numbers attending the annual vestry meeting fell from several hundred to a few dozen. He was a supporter of the Irish Church Missions and the North Staffordshire Protestant Association. Between 1853 and 1856 he became very involved in the proposal to set up a Theological College at Lichfield, he published a pamphlet in which he favoured a graduate clergy thinking that such clergy would have a broader outlook than if they had only attended a Theological College. When it was clear that there was to be such a college at Lichfield he endeavoured to ensure that it was controlled by a widely based governing body and not just by the Bishop who might impose his own particular point of view on the students and might even turn out to be another Newman. Hebert was a keen proponent on Sabbath observance and chaired a number of meetings on aspects of the subject and was president of the Burslem Association for Promoting the Observance of the Lord's Day. He also took an interest in the temperance movement and over the winter of 1855-1856 he organised a Working Men's Association and Discussion Group at which an "anti-drinking-in-public-houses pledge" was organised. Other subjects discussed included better methods of payment of wages, so that men and boys did not have to go to public houses to obtain the change for their wages; a lecture on the war with Russia; "requisites for making a home happy".

These meetings seemed to have attracted a good attendance but were not repeated the following year. When there was a trade depression in the early part of 1855 it was Hebert who tried to persuade the Local Board of Health to take action to provide relief measures. He was a member of the committee of the Government School of Design and was president in 1855 of the Burslem Chemical Society.

Hebert, therefore, took an important part in the life of the town, but his wife's health suffered and in October 1858 he decided to leave the area for London. He was highly regarded, in most things he held moderate views, he was concerned with the spiritual and moral welfare of his parish but did not neglect material assistance.⁸

From 1858 to 1869 the Rector was the Rev. Dr. J.E. Armstrong. He was not unacquainted with the Potteries, in 1855 and 1856 he had paid visits in his capacity as the Honorary Secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Scriptural Truth among the Roman Catholics in England. He had also spent some time in Ireland trying to convert Irish Catholics to Protestantism and had even learnt the Irish language. Armstrong considered that the Bible was the religion of Protestantism and maintained a firm opposition to the Church of Rome. In 1860 he defended his opinions:

"Some persons thought he had said rather strong things against the Church of Rome. He had, he said, no uncharitable feelings towards any religious system; he had no objection to any religion but that he had a great objection to irreligion and that was why he made a distinction between that and all other sects." 9

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8. Born in London, educated at Mill Hill and Charter House at Corpus Christi 1827 and Trinity 1828, Cambridge B.A. 25 wrangler 1830; MA 1833; BD 1873; DD 1875; Incumbent of Lowestoft 1862-1870; Ambleside 1875-78. A number of publications The Register of Mill Hill School 1807-1926 - E Hampden Cook 1926; Boase's Modern English Biographies, Alumni Cantabrigiensis 1752-1900. Died 23 June 1890.
 9. Staffordshire Advertiser - 2 June 1860 at a complimentary dinner for George Baker.

Armstrong's forthrightly expressed opinions were not always well received. In 1863 he refused to attend the dejeuner given for the Rt. Hon. W.E. Gladstone on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of the Wedgwood Institute on the grounds that the fourth toast was to the "Bishop, Clergy of the Diocese and Ministers of all Denominations". He issued a Solemn Protest explaining his objections to the toast:

" Because it includes in it persons who deny the Divinity of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. It also included persons who hold and teach the doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass, which the 31st Article of the Church of England declares to be a 'blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit'. My respected Bishop required me to sign the Articles before admitting me to minister here, and, therefore I cannot submit to be mixed up with teachers of such false and destructive doctrines; at the same time I protest against being supposed to entertain any hostile feelings against the teachers of such doctrines - I only war with what I consider evil principles." 10

This protest was announced, but not read, after the toast had been made and the Bishop had already replied to it, there was much disapproval of Armstrong's absence and the reason for his absence expressed at the time and in reply Dr. Armstrong issued an angry answer:

" The foregoing protest was sent to the Secretary of the Wedgwood Institute (who promised to read it after the toast) but not to animadvert upon it after the Bishop's reply, and that without reading it, and this giving the meeting no opportunity of approving or condemning it as they thought fit.

Dr. Armstrong specially wished the protest to be read before the reply, and agreed to be absent on that condition alone, that his reverend Diocesan might have an opportunity of seeing (what he evidently did not see) to what the toast led, viz. to the 'recognition' (that was the Wesleyan Minister's word, applied approvingly) of Priests Roman, Mormon, Socinian, Arian, Buddhist and Anything-arian.

Dr. Armstrong gave no authority to any person even to read the document after the Bishop's speech (as it made him appear opposed to the Bishop) much less to animadvert upon it without reading it.

The meeting could not fairly give an opinion of the protest of the Rector of the Parish without hearing it, because -
"He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is as folly and shame to him' Proverbs xviii 13.

The protest is before the Parishioners now, let them approve of or condemn the Rector as they think fit, his consolation is that God will not condemn him for it.

It has been suggested that Wedgwood having been a Unitarian, it would have been bad taste to exclude the ministers of that denomination.

Whether politeness and taste are to be preferred to allegiance to Immanuel (God with us) the Christian Parishioners of Burslem will judge.

If Christians are to be bowed and scraped out of their Christianity let it be honestly declared such is the policy of Burslem." 10

Dr. Armstrong was favourably disposed towards protestant dissenters and in 1859 took part in a series of inter-denominational services in Burslem Town Hall, these were continued in 1860 and Dr. Armstrong commented on the "delightful nature of Christian unity".

Religion and the Church were not the only concerns of Dr. Armstrong, he was very interested in music and in teaching singing. His favoured method was that of Hullah and he gave a lecture and demonstration in the Town Hall in 1858, he wanted to train singers so that the whole congregation could join in the praises of the sanctuary in church services. He conducted a number of entertainments in 1859 in aid of the Wedgwood Institute and the National Schools in which he sang songs, played flute solos, trained choirs and gave magic lantern lectures using slides he had painted himself. In 1859 the Rifle Volunteer movement was adopted in Burslem and Dr. Armstrong was immediately a keen supporter, he became the Chaplain to the 6th Corps of the 1st Administrative Battalion. Mrs. Armstrong and other ladies canvassed the town and raised

10 - Both the Solemn Protest and subsequent reply are pasted into the back of the Minute Book of the Wedgwood Institute at Hanley Reference Library. The underlinings are Armstrong's emphasis.

enough money for a silver bugle which was presented to the Company in June 1860. Not everyone approved of his association with the Volunteers so in 1860 Dr. Armstrong gave "the peace-at-any-price party to understand that their attacks were matters of perfect indifference to him". He took an interest in the National Schools at St. John's and organised the Garibaldi Rifle Corps at the Boys' school.

Sadly Mrs. Armstrong died in October 1868 and early in 1869 Dr. Armstrong left Burslem, he re-married and died in Pembrokeshire in 1872." 11

The new patron of the parish was Dr. John Morris, a Burslem surgeon, whose daughter married the Rev. Alfred Watton. Watton had spent part of 1862 as a curate of Sneyd and became Rector in 1869. He did not take as much part in the activities in the town as his predecessors. The state of the church building had been causing concern in 1859, it was referred to as "filthy and dilapidated", but plans for re-building were postponed because there were other projects, notably the Wedgwood Institute, which were fund-raising at that time. Nothing more was done until Mr. Watton organised the interior restoration of the church over 1878 to 1879. When the Burslem Wakes were abolished in 1879 Mr. Watton supported their restoration and spoke in favour of both public and private recreation. His death in 1886 was an unexpected tragedy, he shot himself in the study of the Rectory and the Coroner heard evidence from Dr. Alcock that Mr. Watton suffered from dyspepsia, depression and insomnia, but financial problems were thought to be the main reason for his suicide. Although he had the living there were conditions attached to it which prevented the full enjoyment of it and recent improvements to the farm at Brown Edge had been more expensive than anticipated. However

11 - Rev Dr. Armstrong graduated B.A at Dublin in 1831, MA 1841, LL.B and LL.D 1850 B.D and DD 1853. Several publications mostly in the 1850 s.
- Alumni Dubliniensis : British Museum Catalogue
Died 10 September 1872.

his estate proved to be worth £1,840.10.0, so his widow and large family were not left destitute.¹²

Mrs. Watton presented the next Rector, the Rev. Henry Edwards. Edwards had been ordained a deacon in 1842 so in 1886 he would have been in his sixties at least. He was a member of the Burslem School Boards of 1889-1892 and 1892-1895, in neither case was there an election, he did not stand in the 1895 election. Edwards was a difficult man to work with and he aroused the antagonism of church wardens, sidesmen and the congregation and was accused of driving people away from the church by his attitude. An example of his unilateral actions was angrily discussed at the Easter vestry meeting in 1894:

"A further somewhat warm discussion took place with respect to some panes being broken in the belfry window. The Rector said he had broken the panes to get ventilation and to preserve himself from fainting on account of the gas fumes at evening services. He could not get ventilation by appealing to the churchwardens and he claimed to have been entitled to break the windows as the freehold of the church was his. Mr. Paine said this feeling on the part of the Rector would drive the church people into the arms of the Dissenters, and the Rector would then have a splendid church to himself. The Rector: 'Why don't you go to your own church?'. Mr. Paine: 'It is my right to go to the Parish Church, and the right of everyone (applause). Is it like a Christian minister to send me away from his congregation?'. After further angry discussion in which it was stated that complaints were made of draughts from the broken windows and that the choir had threatened to stay away in consequence, Mr. Hughes advised the Rector to give way and Mr. Paine suggested that when special collections came they should 'keep their hands down'.

The Rector: 'Very well; you can do that if you like.' The sidesmen were then elected, and votes of thanks passed to the churchwardens and other officers. A formal vote of thanks was also accorded to the Rector for presiding, and the hope expressed that the work of the Church might yet be conducted in harmony." 13

12 - Born in Shrewsbury, attended Shrewsbury School adm. St. John's Cambridge 1853 migrated to Trinity, 1856 and to Magdalene 1857. BA 1860, MA 1863. Ordained Deacon 1861, Priest 1862. Curate of Tunstall 1861-62 of Sneyd 1862, Curate-in-charge Skidgate with Upton, Somerset 1862-65, Curate of Babworth and Ranby, Notts 1865-69. Alumni Cantabrigiensis.
Local Newscuttings Volume 2 page 31-32. Hanley Reference Library; Died 20 January 1886.

13 - Staffordshire Advertiser 31 March 1894

It proved to be a vain hope, in 1897 the Rector threatened Mr. R. Kelsall with his stick and with gaol and called him a liar, in turn Mr. Kelsall called him a hypocrite and accused him of posing as a widower when he came to Burslem with a wife and two children, he said that the Rector was "not fit to wear the cloth" and had never supposed that "a Rector in his sane mind would do as he had done". By the turn of the century Edwards' health had deteriorated, in 1899 there were no confirmation candidates in the parish and the running of the parish was left to the curate. In 1900 a large Imperial Bazaar lasting three days and held in the Town Hall was organised to pay off the churchwarden's debt of £70 and to restore and redecorate the interior of the church. It raised £529 and was thought most successful. Mr. Edwards died in November 1903.¹⁴

A successor was not easily found. The first choice of Robert Heath was the Rev. H.V. Stuart but he was not available, another clergyman refused and in January 1904 the Rev. Arthur Williams accepted and thought that it offered "splendid possibilities for aggressive Christian work". Mr. Williams had been ordained a priest in 1896 and had held curacies in Hammersmith, Leeds, Hastings and West Kensington. He brought new energy to the parish, in 1909 there were 33 confirmation candidates and in 1910 there were 15. A Church Lads' Brigade was started and Mrs. Williams was in charge of the Children's Mission and

14 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 24 April 1897 - 12 May 1900
Souvenir of Parochial Bazaar 1900 - at Burslem Parish Church,
Lichfield Diocesan Magazine June 1900, Alumni Oxoniensis - Henry
Edwards, Lincoln College, matric. 13 December 1838 aged 19 BA 1843
Rector of Church Stanton, Devon 1846-81, of Wambrook, Dorset 1850-81
and Uplymne 1881-83 (This may not be the same man but probably is)
Lichfield Diocesan Church Calendar 1899 - ordained deacon 1842.
Died 21 November 1903.



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

the Girls' Brigade but she died in 1913. Poor health caused Mr. Williams to resign from the benefice in 1928. He seems to have rebuilt the relationship between the Rector and the churchwardens that was so damaged by Mr. Edwards and he restored confidence in the church.¹⁵

Church of St. Paul, Dalehall

The foundation stone of this chapel-of-ease was laid on 24 June 1828 and the building was consecrated on 19 January 1831. For an area that was then undeveloped it was a very large church, in 1851 the incumbent estimated that it could hold 2,000 but 1,500 was the more likely figure, in 1874 its accommodation was given as 2,200 but in 1881 as 1,200, in 1899 as 1,700 and in 1910 as 2,000. The true capacity was probably never tested and no indication was given as to whether the figures referred to seated accommodation or included standing room as well.

On 13 January 1845 it became a District Chapelry in its own parish, in 1868 the perpetual curate became a vicar. In 1881 about a hundred houses were transferred to the parish of St. Mary, Tunstall.¹⁶

The church was built of Hollington stone in the Gothic style of the twelfth century, with a 115 foot tower, a lofty nave and side aisles. John Ward in his History of the Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent of 1843 gave a very detailed description of the building and its interior.

15 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 9 January 1904, 30 January 1904, 20 February 1904

Lichfield Diocesan Church Calendar - 1910, 1911 (Univ. of Keele)
Burslem Parish Church Magazine - June 1910 (Burslem Parish Church)

16 - Census of Religion Worship 1851 - H.O 129/15/370/3/1

Lichfield Diocesan Church Calendar 1874, 1899, 1910

Kelly's Directory 1892 gives the date it became a District Chapelry as 24 January 1845.

National Census 1881

There were a number of later additions, in 1871 a stained glass east window was erected to the memory of William Davenport, there were other memorials to the Edwards family of May Place, to the Rev. C. O'Neill Pratt from the Freemasons, to William and Eliza Heath of Norton-in-the-Moors, placed in 1878 and to Joseph Shirley of Longport House and churchwarden for many years. Mr. Till and Mrs. Adams of Dalehall also had memorials. The church was enriched by gifts, in 1886 a new pulpit was presented in remembrance of a mission held in the parish in 1885, in 1896 Joseph Green gave a reredos of oak and other woods carved in 14th century style. In 1905 a Litany desk matching the reredos was given by J. Cooper. The church was demolished in 1974.¹⁷

The churchyard extended over three acres, less the site of the building. As early as 1849 William Lee in his survey of the town thought it unsuitable for a burial ground because it was "in the midst of the living population". Like the parish churchyard burials were restricted in 1856 and further still in 1881. Burials in existing vaults, such as that of the Davenports continued but nearly all the tombstones were cleared away in the mid 1960's.

The income of the incumbent was derived mainly from pew rents, which in 1851 amounted to £125.0.6 (£125.02½), and fees which added £54.2.9 (£54.13). In 1874 the income was £300 and by 1884 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners contributed £104 and the pew rents £276. Thereafter the income declined, in 1892 it was £300, in 1899 £240 and in 1910 it was still £240. The lack of an endowment explains why St. Paul's was the only church in Burslem still charging pew rents in 1910, though the 600 free seats in the church would probably have been sufficient for the congregation.

17 - Lichfield Diocesan Church Magazine - October 1896, October 1900, February 1903, October 1905
- History of the Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent - John Ward p247-252

Included in the net value of the income was the parsonage house. The first parsonage was at Longport and originally belonged to John Brindley, the canal engineer. In 1859 that house was sold, partly because it was thought too large and partly because the costs of repairs and renovation were thought too great to be justified. The sale of the house and one acre of land produced £1,100 which was invested. Nothing was done about the purchase of a new parsonage until 1865 when an old property was bought for £1,200. The house proved unfit for use and was demolished. A new vicarage was built on the corner of Newcastle Street and Mouseley Street with considerable difficulty. Finance was one problem because the parishioners were expected to make a contribution, and as the materials of the demolished house had to be used there were difficulties in employing builders to take on the work and the delay embittered the vicar and affected his relations with the parishioners. In a leaflet printed on 1 January 1869 the Rev. C. O'Neill Pratt complained:

"For the last twelve months I have been obliged to put up with an amount of personal inconvenience of which few of you have any notion. But I fear that some who are well provided with domestic comforts are apt to forget this. It is a significant fact, that on the last Christmas Day, though sixty grown-up persons attended St. Paul's Church in the morning ONE PENNY PIECE represented the degree of consideration entertained for me and mine, at a season when the enjoyment of home and family associations ought to make us feel for others as well as ourselves....It is not in human nature for a warm feeling to grow up between a Parson and his flock, as long as this state of things exists."

Mr. Pratt died in March 1872 so he was not able to enjoy living in the vicarage for very long.¹⁸

18 - St. Paul's Parsonage - Statement May 1867 and 1 January 1869 - Rev. C. O'Neill Pratt

In 1879 a mission room was opened in the Sytch and fitted out with a communion table, lectern, prayer desk and font and had room for 180. It was not a convenient room and in 1894 a new mission church was built on Melbourne Street at the corner of Haywood Street. It could hold 250 persons and also had a classroom and a kitchen.¹⁹

A second mission, known as the Hope Mission, opened in 1886 in a former Congregational chapel opposite the end of Reid Street. It was placed in the charge of a curate who organised a Sunday School and held a Sunday evening service. In 1890 a new Hope Mission was built in Shirley Street for £620 accommodating 500.²⁰

The incumbent at St. Paul's from 1841 until his death in 1861 was a controversial Irishman, the Rev. Philip Ellis. He had a number of interests, the anti-Maynooth movement was one, anti-papal aggression another and he was a frequent speaker on both subjects. He was also interested in education, his attempt to set up a free school for the poor children of his parish is described in the chapter on education, also his involvement with the Burslem Free School. Mr. Ellis occupied much of 1850 and 1851 in the anti-papal aggression movement but when interest began to wane he turned his attention to other controversial matters. At the end of 1851 he was presented with £80 by the inhabitants of Burslem but he had forfeited much goodwill over the Baths and Washhouses Act. Mr. Ellis, although he had no objection to baths and washhouses being built by private subscriptions, opposed their provision out of the rates. The first meeting on the

19 Kelly's Directory 1884, Staffordshire Advertiser 2 June 1894

20 Lichfield Diocesan Magazine February 1886, Kelly's Directory 1892 and 1908
Stories of a Staffordshire Parson - H.V. Stuart 1926;
Lichfield Diocesan Church Calendar 1910

proposed adoption of the Act was held at 11 a.m. in the National Schoolroom, but Ellis protested that legally the meeting should be held in the vestry and after two to three hours the meeting was adjourned to the evening when it was transferred to the Shambles because of the numbers attending, reckoned at 1,200. At the evening meeting a small group kept up such a noise and barracked every speaker in favour of the adoption of the Act that only opposition speakers could be heard. Ellis spoke and began his speech: "Friends, hear the dirty Irishman" which was apparently "an allusion to a disparaging reflection made on the reverend gentleman's countrymen". Ellis's motion that the Act be not adopted was carried by a cry of "No rate". It was later alleged that many "ratepayers" at the meeting were youths of 16 to 18 years of age and a few weeks later an address, signed by 290 ratepayers, condemning the meeting and supporting the views of the pro-Baths and Washhouses group was given to the Rev. C. Hebert and Messrs. J. Pidduck and G. Baker, but the meeting was not put to a ratepayers poll or reopened. Although Ellis did try to defend himself in a letter to the Staffordshire Advertiser he was not on strong ground and maintained a low profile for quite some time afterwards. But Ellis could not keep quiet for long and the general election of the Summer of 1852 saw his active involvement and he was accused of acting as a professional electioneering agent for the Conservative candidate, Ald. W.S. Copeland. Ellis' interest was not just political as Copeland was the only candidate to oppose the Maynooth grant. Whilst Ellis threw himself into the defence of the church he had a long and argumentative correspondence with the Rev. C. Hebert over the distribution of church rates and the Lichfield

Theological College. Mr. Ellis died in 1861 and Burslem lost an argumentative character who enjoyed being controversial and arousing feelings with the presentation of an extreme point of view. He did not always choose the strongest of grounds for his arguments and made matters more difficult for himself than necessary.²¹

The Rev. John E. White who succeeded Ellis also had an Irish background, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin he had been Secretary to the Irish Society of London from 1851 to 1854. He was only in Burslem from 1861 to 1864 and left for a Chatham parish.²²

The Rev. Charles O'Neill Pratt had visited Burslem in 1852 to speak on the "Progress of Protestantism in Ireland". He was also connected with the Irish Church Mission. Whilst in Burslem his energies were diverted to the provision of a new parsonage house and recriminations on the sale of the Longport parsonage. He died in Burslem in 1872.²³

The Irish connection was continued with the next incumbent, the Rev. Dr. John Deacon Massingham. A graduate of Trinity College, Dublin he went to Burslem from Warrington and began work with enthusiasm. In March 1874 he was elected to the ninth place on the nine-man School Board though he resigned in July 1876. In 1875 he reported that the number of baptisms in the parish had increased from 36 in the year preceding his employment to 200 in 1874, the Sunday School had more teachers and was more numerously attended and the library had 400 new

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- 21 - Alumni Dubliniensis - born at Louth, graduated B.A. 1828.
Staffordshire Advertiser - 27 December 1851, 3 January 1852, 17 January 1852, 24 January 1852, 31 January 1852; Died 5 July 1861.
- 22 - Alumni Dubliniensis - born Dublin, entered the University 1820 aged 14 years, graduated BA 1825 and MA 1832.
Alumni Cantabrigiensis - MA 1856. Minister at Fitzroy Chapel, St. Pancras and Secretary to the Irish Soc., of London 1851-54. Curate of Guestingthorpe, Essex 1859-61, perpetual Curate at Burslem 1861-64, Vicar of St. Paul's Chatham 1864-79. Died 6 March 1880.
- 23 - Alumni Dubliniensis - born Co. Antrim B.A. 1835, MA 1842
Staffordshire Advertiser - 22 May 1852 British Museum Catalogue

books. He also reported that district visitors, the Church Missionary Society and the parish magazine were doing well. He continued the protestant position established at St. Paul's and was critical of the English Church Union a branch of which was being established at Sneyd, he accused the Union of wanting unification with Rome. Dr. Massingham became non-resident, moving to Chelsea, possibly for health reasons and the parish was left in the hands of a curate. The first curate-in-charge was the Rev. John Birch, he was a member of the School Board from March 1880 to January 1881 when he left Burslem for Wednesfield with a cheque for 50 guineas (£52.50) from the parishioners. The Rev. J.A. Panter took over from Mr. Birch and was in charge of the parish throughout 1881 and most of 1882. In June 1882 Dr. Massingham died in Chelsea in reduced circumstances; he left only £85.1.0d (£85.05).²⁴

The Rev. Malcolm Graham was instituted the vicar of St. Paul's in November 1882 and remained until 1901. He was young and enthusiastic when he went to Dalehall and was an active evangelical vicar keen on outdoor services and special missions. He had the assistance of two curates most of the time he was at Dalehall and put each curate in charge of a mission church. He too was a member of the Burslem School Board, being elected second in the poll in 1886. He stayed on the Board for the full three year term but did not continue to be a member after 1889. Mr. Graham himself did not have an Irish background as he came from Margate and was educated at Oxford but his father was Irish. In 1908 he became Archdeacon of Stoke-Upon-Trent.²⁵

24 - Alumni Dubliniensis - born Surrey the son of a dissenting minister entered Dublin 1846 aged 21, graduated BA 1851, MA 1854, LLb 1867, DD 1869 British Museum Catalogue - numerous publications Staffordshire Advertiser - 2 January 1875. Burslem School Board Minutes Local Newscuttings vol. 2 p 225

25 - Alumni Oxoniensis - Brasenose College BA 1875, MA 1878 Staffordshire Advertiser 11 Jan 1896, Report of death of Rev. Preb Graham, St. Chad's Stowe nr. Lichfield his father. (who was of Irish origin).

After Mr. Graham's departure the parish had the Rev. W.M. Probert as vicar for three years and on his departure the Rev. Hyma Henry Redgrave. Mr. Redgrave was a graduate of King's College London and had studied theology at Durham. He appeared to run the parish fairly successfully, in 1909 there were 45 confirmation candidates and in 1910 there were 44 candidates. However, from 1909 the shadow of scandal hung over Mr. Redgrave when he appeared overly affectionate to a girl he took into his home as an adopted daughter. He alienated many parishioners and churchwardens and after the publication of an article entitled "The Pachydermatous Pottery Parson" he fled to Leicester and lived under an assumed name. At a church court hearing in December 1913 he was found guilty of immoral acts and immoral conduct, though not of adultery, and he was deprived of the living.²⁶

Mr. Redgrave's foolish behaviour would have shaken the faith of many people in the parish and undone much of the work done by Mr. Graham and his curates.

Christ Church, Cobridge

Christ Church was built as a chapel-of-ease for the ville of Rushton Grange and the lordship of Abbey Hulton. Building began in 1839 on a site at the summit of Waterloo Road. The church was consecrated in April 1841 and was of yellow brick with a tower, stone pinnacles and dressings and was first enlarged in either 1842 or 1845-6. The chancel was lengthened in 1900 and two windows were added.

26 - Associate of King's College, London. Ordained Deacon 1889 at Waltham Abbey. Held curacies at East Ham, St. James's Wolverhampton (1896) St. James the Less, Islington. Chaplain at Bethnal Green Infirmary.

The Times - 1st, 2nd December 1913 - a very detailed account of the court proceedings.

Lichfield Diocesan Church Calendar - 1910, 1911

There was accommodation for 560 until the end of the century changes, in 1899 450 could be accommodated and in 1910 340 persons. The parsonage house was built at a cost of nearly £1,000 in 1851 next to the church and in 1856 church schools were opened adjacent to the church and these also provided meeting rooms for the parish.

The income for the incumbent came originally from pew rents which contributed £100 in 1851. Income was still only £125 in 1875 but by 1884 it was £214 as the Ecclesiastical Commissioners contributed a grant. By 1899 the pew rents had been discontinued but the income was £280 and in 1910 it was £277, which included the parsonage house.

Christ Church became a district chapelry on 13 January 1845 but lost part of its parish in 1865 to the parish of St. James and St. Philip, Milton. A Mission Church was opened in Sneyd Green on 28 January 1909 which was known as St. Andrew's (Bates Memorial) Mission Church. George Bates was a pottery manufacturer who had contributed to the £1,300 cost of building the church.²⁷

The first incumbent of Christ Church was the Rev. William Dunn Lamb, he had spent 1844 to 1847 or 1848 in charge of Sneyd parish as well as Christ Church but was at Christ Church from 1846 to 1871. He was the most political of the clergy of Burslem. He stood as a Conservative for the Local Board of Health for Rushton Grange in 1850 and was elected, but as he had the lowest vote he was only on the Board for a year. He did not stand in 1851 but was elected in 1853 and remained on the Board for three years. He was a member of the committee of the North Staffordshire Infirmary.²⁸

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- 27 - History of the Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent - John Ward p.284
Kelly's Directory 1884 - states it was enlarged 1842;
Whites Directory 1851 - enlarged 1846, Keates' Directory 1875
states it was enlarged 1845, Kelly's Directory 1892 Potteries
and Newcastle Directory 1907; Staffordshire Advertiser 3 July 1858;
1 January 1910
- 28 - Local Board of Health - Annual reports 1851-1871; Staffs Advertiser
24 September 1853; 13 November 1858.

Lamb's successor the Rev. J.A. McMullen, entered the ministry when he was about 50 years of age. Prior to his ordination he had been the principal of The Collegiate School at Douglas, Isle of Man and the author of a textbook on English grammar. Towards the end of his life he suffered from poor health and was given leave of absence from the parish during which he paid a visit to the Holy Land and was involved in litigation in the Isle of Man. He died in Glasgow in 1895.²⁹

The Rev. James Wardle Alston had been the curate-in-charge of the parish in McMullen's absence and succeeded him as vicar. He was a busy incumbent, holding three services on a Sunday and an extra afternoon service once a month, saying daily prayers, carrying out twice weekly baptisms. There were men's and women's Bible classes, a Communicants' Guild, there was a branch of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew and of the Band of Hope as well as Sunday Schools. Mr. Alston was also Secretary and Treasurer of the Ruridecanal Committee for Hanley Rural Deanery. However, he did have the assistance of a curate.³⁰

Christ Church was not as overtly evangelical as St. Paul's nor was it high church in the tradition that developed at Holy Trinity. Like the Parish Church it continued on a middle way with a measure of stability as there were only three incumbents between 1846 and 1912.

29 - Kelly's Directory 1884; Lichfield Diocesan Church Calendar 1874; Staffordshire Advertiser 21 July 1860; British Museum Catalogue Local Newscuttings Vol. 4 page 54

30 - Potteries and Newcastle Directory 1907

Holy Trinity Church, Sneyd

Sneyd became a Peel District parish on 23 May 1844 but did not have its own church until 1852. A licensed room in Nile Street was used as temporary accommodation. The foundation stone of the church was laid on 8 July 1851 by Smith Child, M.P. and it was consecrated on 14 October the following year. Holy Trinity was sited on Nile Street next to the earthenware works of Pinder, Bourne & Co., and served a parish with:

"A large population chiefly of the humblest class of life, in one of the worst parts of the town, where ignorance, poverty and vice and combined causes of misery, spiritual and temporal, appeal loudly to the Christian philanthropist for remedial measures." 31

The building was designed by G.T. Robinson, an architect from Wolverhampton who later won the competition for the design of the new Town Hall. The church could accommodate 600 people including some 100 children in a gallery at the west end. From the beginning all the pews were free because it was such a poor parish. The incumbent's income came from an endowment valued at £150 in 1859. It increased to £160 by 1875 and to £200 by 1899. The parsonage house was built in 1858 at Bleak Hill with funds raised locally and grants from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Queen Anne's Bounty and Lichfield Diocesan Society. In spite of the unpromising situation of the church it was considered in 1911 to have one of the most beautiful interiors in the district. This was mainly due to paintings in the church and 22 stained glass windows installed from 1901. The exterior of the church presented an unattractive appearance:

31 - Staffordshire Advertiser 16 October 1852

"outside its very blackness is depressing, and the curiously squat spire gives anything but dignity to the scene."

By 1920 the church was showing signs of the mining subsidence that was to lead to its closure and demolition in 1956.³²

A mission church was built in 1895 to serve the area of Hamil Road and what was then new housing around Burslem Park. It could accommodate 260 worshippers and was named after St. Werburga.³³

From 1851 to 1856 the incumbent was the Rev. John Beaumont, who went to Burslem from Blackburn where parishioners had given him a silver tea service worth £60 on his departure. He saw the establishment of the new building and the parish before leaving for a Yorkshire parish.³⁴

The Rev. Samuel Sandberg was a man of some zeal, in his first year at Sneyd attendance at the church and the schools quadrupled. He had 120 communicants and there had been 32 baptisms and 30 marriages, the Sunday School had 120 children and an average of 65 children attended the day school and 70 to 80 at night school. He also raised money for the construction of a parsonage house. In his second year the number of communicants increased to 254 and the number of children at Sunday School to 176, at day school to 85 though the night school dropped to 60. However, Mr. Sandberg wanted financial assistance for the schools as he was paying about £30 a year out of his stipend to support them. In the church Mr. Sandberg used a full choral service and sought

32 - Supplement to Lichfield Diocesan Calendar - Annals 1859 - John Ward Lichfield Diocesan Church Calendar 1874, 1899, 1910, 1911 Staffordshire Advertiser; 28 June 1851 12 July 1851- 16 October 1852 27 February 1858. Local Newscuttings Vol. 5 p.118 - Report of Church Congress.

33 - Potteries & Newcastle Directory 1907; Kelly's Directory 1908

34 - Alumni Cantabrigiensis - born Huddersfield; Trinity College 1841 BA 1845, MA 1848, Ordained Deacon 1845, Priest 1846, Curate St. John's Blackburn 1846-51, Sneyd 1851-56, Vicar of Askern, Yorks 1857-1891 Died 3 January 1892.

to attract the working people of his parish with a special service for operatives. He was a keen supporter of the temperance movement and on one occasion arranged for J.B. Gough to speak on the evils of intemperance, the proceeds of the meeting going towards the parsonage house fund.³⁵

In 1866 the Rev. Stephen Eversfield took over the parish after short spells as a curate at St. Paul's, Dalehall and at Stoke-on-Trent. He was particularly interested in the schools, in January 1868 he opened the new National School which by 1874 had 200 pupils. He continued the movement towards establishing Sneyd in the high church tradition, in 1875 a branch of the English Church Union was formed after a public meeting of parishioners when it was resolved that:

"It was most important at the present time that Churchmen should enrol themselves in the English Church Union, in order to maintain the Prayer Book as put forth by the Convocation in 1662, against the attempts which are now being made to lower its standard and destroy its character."³⁶

After Mr. Eversfield's retirement in 1887 the Rev. Alfred Campion was vicar for 14 years. Described as a "man of great personal holiness and much tenacity of character" he had set himself "to teach the Catholic faith in its fullness and supply a service which was in accordance with the highest traditions of the Church of England". He adopted ecclesiastical vestments for his services and after the redecoration of the church in 1890 a painting of "The Resurrection" was uncovered in the church. Mr. Campion was elected to the School

35 - Alumni Cantabrigiensis - born Germany, Corpus Christi 1843, BA 1848, Ordained Deacon 1848, Priest 1852, Chaplain Cape of Good Hope 1849-52, Curate Askern with Fenwick & Moss Yorks 1852-57 vicar of Sneyd 1857-66 Curate at Messing, Essex 1869-74, of Elmley Yorks 1875-77, vicar of Riddleside 1877-79, of Longcliffe 1879-01 Died 26 November 1907 at Brighton.

Staffordshire Advertiser - 28 February 1857, 27 June 1857, 1 August 1857, 27 February 1858, 11 December 1858. Temperance - 14 August 1858 21 August 1858.

36 - Alumni Cantabrigiensis - born Rotherham, St. John's Cambridge 1844 BA 1851, MA 1868, Ordained Deacon 1852, Priest 1853, Curate of Bebington Cheshire 1852-5 of Stanton Derbyshire 1859-62 of Burslem 1865, of Stoke-on-Trent 1866. Vicar of Sneyd 1866-87. Died at Buxton Derbyshire 8 October 1895.

Board in 1895 and became chairman of the mainly denominational Board. He was re-elected, with an increased vote though still in third place in the poll, in 1898 but ceased to be chairman. He remained on the Board until 1901 when he left Sneyd for the parish of Smallthorne.³⁷

The Rev. Thomas Hervey Rabone celebrated Holy Communion daily and the main Sunday service was Choral Eucharist. He continued Mr. Champion's beautification of the church with stained glass windows and mosaic pavements. He had a collection of copes, chalice palls, stoles and maniples, a pyx veil and a chasuble which he displayed at the Church Congress of 1911. Mr. Rabone took a keen interest in the Territorial Army and was Senior Chaplain to the 5th Prince of Wales North Staffordshire Regiment of Territorials and during the First World War attained the rank of Major. In 1920 he left Sneyd for the Rectory of Weston-under-Lizard.³⁸

The only official census of attendances in churches and chapels was held on 30 March 1851, the Sunday before the National census of households. Information was requested on the name of the place of worship, its full address, whether it was a separate building, how many it seated and the number of free sittings. Churches of the Established Church were further asked for details of their foundation and building costs, if founded after 1801, their sources of income, endowments and pew rents, though these questions were not legally mandatory. On census

37 - Alumni Oxoniensis - born Kirk Langley in Derbyshire, St. Alban Hall, Oxford 1874, BA 1878, MA 1882.

Lichfield Diocesan Church Calendar 1899. Local Newscuttings Vol 9 page 120 - Curate at St. Lukes, Leeds, Vicer of Holy Trinity Sneyd; of Smallthorne 1901-06, of Kirton, Nottinghamshire 1906.

38 - Local Newscuttings vol. 11 p 200 - Staffs Sentinel 2 February 1920 Ordained 1891, Curate St. Julian's Shrewsbury, then at Market Drayton. Vicer of Sneyd 1901-1910.

Lichfield Diocesan Church Calendar 1910

Sunday the numbers present at each service in the morning, afternoon and evening were recorded, both of the general congregation and the Sunday scholars. The form also provided space for the six-monthly or twelve-monthly average attendances to be given. The form was filled in by the incumbents of the Parish Church, St. Paul's and Christ Church but there was no form for Sneyd, presumably because they did not have a proper place of worship. There are a number of gaps in the returns, the Parish Church gave no figures for the congregation at any service on 30 March, Christ Church did not give any figures for their average congregation and St. Paul's gave as their average, only the total number of Sunday scholars. St. Paul's had a morning and an evening service with 174 attending the first and 199 the second service. Christ Church had 100 at the morning service and 120 at the afternoon service; a total of only 593 attendances recorded. The Sunday scholars were recorded separately, at the Parish Church there were 161 in the morning and again in the afternoon, at St. Paul's a surprisingly low 68 in the morning only, at Christ Church there were 162 scholars in the morning and 184 in the afternoon, making a total of 736 attendances, though as it was the practice for children to attend both morning and afternoon the number of scholars would have been much less than 736. Given that the number of sittings in the three churches was, at its lowest, 2,721 at each service and with three services it would be 8,163 so the figure of 1,323 attendances (including 730 given as the total of average attendances at the Parish Church) suggests that there was plenty of room for expansion at the churches.³⁹

39 - Census of Religious Worship 1851 - H.O 129/15/370/3/1

An unofficial census was conducted in 1881 which enables a comparison to be made.⁴⁰ Enumerators counted the numbers at services in all places of worship in the Potteries on 18 December 1881. Children were counted as part of the general congregation but not if they were a separate S.S., but this was not done in Burslem. Unfortunately it was not made clear whether all children were excluded from the Burslem figures, or whether the Sunday Schools were counted in, or whether the children were counted at some places of worship and not at others. This 1881 census does not distinguish between afternoon and evening services. All the four churches were recorded as well as the Sytch Mission Room. A total of 2,029 attendances were recorded, with nearly 300 attendances at the two services at the Parish Church, with 400 and 450 at St. Paul's and 79 at the one service in the Sytch Mission Room, Christ Church had about 140 at the morning and the afternoon/evening services and Sneyd had 87 in the morning and 147 at the second service. The total of 2,029 was 7.3% of the total population of Burslem, compared to 6.9% in 1851.

This small proportion had led to various efforts by the incumbents to attract more worshippers but the very slight increase thirty years after 1851 suggests that their labours did not meet with great success. In 1857 a special service for "operatives" was organised at Sneyd, seats were reserved specifically for working men and women, of whom a large number attended, in fact the church was fuller than it had been at any time since it opened five years earlier, a second service was planned but as it was the time of the summer "wakes weeks" the scheme was not extended.⁴¹ Church services were made more attractive, choirs

40 - Burslem Newscuttings page 95 - published 24 December 1881

41 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 27 June 1858

were trained and at Sneyd could give a "Cathedral service"; at the Parish Church the establishment of the choir received the support of the Bishop of Lichfield and the Archdeacon of Chester, both of whom preached fund-raising sermons.⁴²

Whilst very little could be done about the unsalubrious surroundings of the churches - with the possible exception of Christ Church, they all had potworks nearby and St. Paul's had a brick and tile works belching smoke - they did try to improve the interiors of the buildings. All, except St. Paul's, had renovation and restoration work with structural changes at the Parish Church and Christ Church and extensive beautification at Sneyd.

Over the years differences in style evolved, Sneyd developed a reputation for elaborate services and became increasingly 'high church' so that it was characterised as "the church of genuflections".⁴³ St. Paul's became known as an evangelical church, particularly under the Rev. Malcolm Graham in the 1880's and 1890's. He put the emphasis on missions and open-air services; rather than encouraging the people to go to the church they tried to take the church to the people. Open-air services were held twice a week in the summer months in the late 1880's but apparently people became so used to them that few attended. Mission churches were set up in the parish to induce those who would not consider entering the vast and imposing St. Paul's. From 1887 to 1894 Mr. Graham was most ably assisted by the Rev. Henry Venn Stuart, one of two curates in the parish at the time. Mr. Stuart was one of the generation of Cambridge graduates who was so strongly influenced by

42 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 31 July 1858

43 - 'Clayhanger' - Arnold Bennett

the "condition of the People Question" that he decided to devote his life to work in an industrial parish. He was put in charge of the Hope Mission Room in Dalehall which had an evening service on Sunday and a Sunday School. Mr. Stuart thought that there was insufficient provision for recreational activities for the youngsters of the parish and he started a Girls' Club. He was not impressed by suggestions that the girls should learn dress-making as they spent their days employed in cutting out paper transfers in the pot-works, so for the first three weeks he organised "jolly games", then some of his Sunday School teachers joined him and within a few months the girls put on a display of musical drill. Mr. Stuart was also involved with a Lads' Club which provided gymnastics and boxing.

Mr. Stuart was an exceptional young clergyman and took an interest in various aspects of the lives of his parishioners. The prevalent drunkenness made him a total abstainer because he recognized that half-measures would not have been understood by those he was persuading to drink less, he himself drew an oven to prove that it could be done without resorting to alcohol. He spent several days working in an ironstone mine in order to meet the miners and understand the conditions under which they worked. He lodged with a family on the same terms as a "working class lodger" and he was interested in Trade Unionism and was a friend of William Gwen, the radical who was keen to develop Trade Unionism amongst the pottery workers. An attempt by Owen and Stuart to persuade the men who relied on casual employment as oven drawers to adopt a scheme which would not involve them in hanging around St. John's Square in all weathers met with no response however. Mr. Stuart left to be the vicar of a Wolverhampton parish, then of a Cannock parish and he returned to the Potteries as Rector of Stoke,

although Robert Heath, the patron of the Rectory of Burslem had wanted him to take that incumbency. At Stoke he played an important part in settling a strike in the pottery industry in 1907 and in providing extra food during the miners' strike of 1912. He left Stoke in 1926 for the Deanery of Carlisle and died in 1933.⁴⁴

In spite of the energetic efforts of men such as Stuart and Graham the church continued to have a small proportion of the total population as regular worshippers. A number of reasons for the low attendance were suggested by Horace Mann in his study of the results of the 1851 religious census. Mann gave four main reasons for so few of the labouring population attending: firstly, the class differences manifested in the existence of appropriated pews and the position of free seats, the answer was the removal of these distinctions. There was an alternative opinion about class differences, that the working people did not want to mix with other classes and preferred separate services for themselves, not necessarily in a church but in a hall or lecture room.

In Burslem three of the four churches had the separate appropriated pews and free seats. Sneyd always had free seats only, but it is more than likely that certain of the families that worshipped there came to regard the pews they used as their own. It is significant that at the special service for operatives in 1857 specific seats were reserved for them. The appropriated pews did lead to a certain amount of acrimony among those who did attend church. A correspondent wrote to the

44 - Stories of a Staffordshire Parson - H.V. Stuart 1926

Staffordshire Advertiser in 1853:

"The question as to private property in pews in churches has been a fruitful source of disagreement and perhaps in few places more so than in Burslem. On Sunday morning last, another fracas arising out of this disputed point took place in the parish church and for several minutes disturbed the due solemnity of the service." 45

A few months later it was reported that a police court summons was issued by Samuel Malkin, ostensible owner of a pew at the Parish Church for assault, against Henry Noon, in the Parish Church the previous Sunday.⁴⁶ However, by 1874 all the seats in the Parish Church were free, by 1899 all the sittings in Christ Church were free but St. Paul's retained appropriated seats because the income from the pew rents was an important part of the incumbent's income and there were sufficient free seats available for the congregation.

Mann's other suggestions for poor attendances were that professed Christians had insufficient sympathy for those suffering from poverty, disease and ignorance; that the poverty-stricken lives of the poor meant that they had neither the time nor the place nor the inclination to ponder upon religious issues in solitude; lastly he thought that there was a misconception of the role of the minister. It was thought that he did his work not out of vocation but because he was paid to do it. Mann had a number of recommendations for improving attendance at places of worship and increasing the number of professing Christians. He foresaw that the number of places of worship were increasing and would continue to increase but with fewer and fewer worshippers for each. He observed the success of the mission and evangelical work of such as

45 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 22 January 1853

46 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 19 February 1853, 2 April 1853
21 May 1853.

John Wesley and George Whitfield and the gains of the Mormons showed that converts could be made and that similar efforts could be made by the churches. He advocated an increase in the number of lay-workers who would be acceptable when the minister was regarded with suspicion. Specifically for the Church of England Mann advised that Bishops should license rooms for worship, that there be more curates, that the Pastoral Aid Society and the Scripture Readers' Association should help in providing the lay helpers and that Sunday School teachers should be organised as lay workers.

As we have seen missions were a feature of the parish of St. Paul's in the last twenty years of the century, all the parishes had the assistance of one curate and sometimes two, of whom the Rev. H.V. Stuart was an outstanding example. The use of lay helpers did not really become established until the end of the nineteenth century, the Lichfield Evangelist Brotherhood was founded in 1887 and gave a thorough training to the lay evangelist, a Lector was appointed at Sneyd in 1890 and lay readers were licensed for Sneyd and Cobridge in the first decade of the twentieth century. Both Sneyd and Cobridge had branches of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew by 1907, it was a lay missionary organisation that had originated in America and came to Britain in the 1890s. St. Paul's had a Diocesan Reader in 1910 but the Parish Church had no lay readers, possibly the result of the poor relations that had developed between the incumbent and the congregation until 1903. Collections were made in aid of the Pastoral Aid Society and the North Staffordshire Church of England Scripture Readers' Association by Burslem churches. Whilst no new parishes were created the number of places of worship increased, from three churches and a temporary room in 1850 to four churches, three mission churches and a mission room as well as the National

schools providing parish rooms.⁴⁷

In an area where many people attended no place of worship and of those that did the majority were nonconformists the Church of England had to work hard to sustain a position. A range of approaches was available from the low church evangelistic style of St. Paul's, through the moderate styles of the Parish Church and Christ Church, Cobridge to the high church approach of Holy Trinity, Sneyd. Most of the clergy worked hard for the church and some took part in civic activities outside purely religious matters but the position of the church was not helped when many members of the congregations of the Parish Church and St. Paul's were alienated by the behaviour of the Revs. H. Edwards and H.H. Redgrave. The Church probably held its own during the period 1850 to 1910 but did not see its proportion of the population change very much.

A number of lay members of the church played leading roles in the life of the town, five of the Chief Bailiffs were churchmen, two of them holding office twice, four of the Mayors were churchmen, again, two held office twice. One of the main church families was the Alcocks, members of the family were involved with the china and earthenware firm of Samuel Alcock & Co. and the earthenware firm of Henry Alcock & Co. at Cobridge, the fifth son of Samuel Alcock was Dr. John Alcock, churchwarden of St. Paul's from 1883 until his death in 1898. The Rev. H.V. Stuart came to know him well:

47 - Lichfield Diocesan Magazine - April 1890, August 1903, January 1905
- Potteries Newcastle Directory 1907
- Lichfield Diocesan Church Calendar 1910

"He was an outstanding figure in the life of Burslem - a skilful Surgeon, a kindly friend and adviser of all his patients; straight as an arrow, and therefore trusted by everyone; afraid of no man, and ready to speak his mind clearly about any slackness, meanness or pretence; he lived a life of really efficient and unselfish service of his fellow-men."

Dr. Alcock was honorary surgeon at the North Staffordshire Infirmary from 1865 to 1898 and was the first honorary surgeon to the Haywood Hospital in Burslem and also a governor of the hospital, he was one of the principal founders and chairman of the Burslem Nursing Institute and was president and honorary secretary of the Burslem District Nursing Association.⁴⁸

Another churchwarden at St. Paul's, for twenty years, was Frederick Tennant, (1821-1914) a wine and spirit merchant who succeeded George Baker on the latter's retirement. Tennant was an active member of the Local Board of Health and Chief Bailiff for two years, a member of the Board of Guardians and a pioneer on the movement for a cemetery for Burslem.⁴⁹ His son-in-law was Arthur Ellis, the second son of the Rev. P.B. Ellis of St. Paul's. Arthur Ellis was a local Solicitor and from 1891 the Town Clerk of Burslem, he was a member of the School Board of 1886-89 and was clerk to the governors of Burslem Endowed School. He also acted as Solicitor to the School Board and the Education Committee.⁵⁰ Most of the churchmen were members or supporters of the Conservative party, but not all, James Maddock (1844-1916), earthenware manufacturer, was a Liberal and had a warm sympathy for

48 - Stories of a Staffordshire Parson - H.V. Stuart page 2

- Local Newscuttings - vol 4 p.15 and p.53

49 - Local Newscuttings - vol 8 p.132. Staffordshire Sentinel 24 Dec.1914

50 - Keates' Directory 1892-93; Burslem School Board Minutes

Congregationalists. He was twice Mayor and presented a burns ward to the Haywood Hospital, a £1,000 for the technical wing extensions at the Wedgwood Institute and a drinking fountain in St. John's Square.⁵¹

Ralph Parker, (1819-1895) a councillor from 1878 to 1894 when he was elected an alderman, was a churchman and a Liberal, he was the manager of the County of Stafford Loan and Discount Co.Ltd. branch in Burslem.⁵²

About a third of the members of the Local Board of Health and of the Town Council were churchmen, though from the late 1880's the numbers declined slightly. On the School Board where the religious persuasion of the members was of considerable importance the church or denominational group was represented, though in a minority until the School Board of 1895-98. In other organisations there were many churchman who were prominent Freemasons, including the Rev. Dr. Armstrong and the Rev. Alfred Campion, the Burslem Association for the Prosecution of Felons also numbered many churchmen as members and presidents.

In spite of its minority position the Church of England occupied an important place in the town of Burslem, most of the clergy were not men to be ignored whether for good or bad reasons, a number of leading citizens where churchmen and the activities and interests of the Church were never overlooked or disregarded.

Section II

The Nonconformists

In numerical terms the nonconformists were the largest religious group in Burslem, and of the nonconformists the Methodists were the

51 - Local Newscuttings - Vol. 9 p.49 Staffordshire Sentinel 8 July 1916

52 - Local Newscuttings - Vol. 4 p.99, 16 November 1895

largest sect. The nonconformists had the greatest number of places of worship and of Sunday Schools. Many of them were involved in local affairs and local industry.

The Baptists

The first Baptist chapel was built in 1806 on High Street. It could seat about 100 and a gallery was added in 1828; in 1851 it could seat 120. The Burslem Baptists were members of the Lancashire and Cheshire Baptist Association. The chapel was in an area noted as being very poor in 1849, the housing was amongst the worst in Burslem and there were many potworks; a move was suggested in 1859 but in 1860 they used a room in the Town Hall and in 1871 a project for the erection of an iron chapel on Liverpool Road was sanctioned. Attached to the chapel was a small graveyard, but that was filled by 1849.⁵³

The old chapel was sold to the Ragged School committee in 1869 and the foundation stones of the new chapel were laid on 5 September 1876 at a site on Liverpool Road only a short distance from the old chapel on High Street. The new Tabernacle was opened on 8 May 1877 by the Rev. J.P. Chown of London. It could seat 350-400 worshippers and although the design allowed for the insertion of galleries these were never necessary, the attendance being smaller than capacity. In 1881 there were 78 worshippers in the morning and 95 the second service of the day, compared with 25 in the morning and 52 in the evening in 1851.⁵⁴

53 - Religious Census 1851; Report to General Board of Health - W.Lee 1849
Staffordshire Advertiser - 19 November 1859, 21 January 1864, 13 March 1869, 7 January 1871. Board of Health Minutes 1 August 1860.

54 - Keats' Directory 1879, Notes - D.J. Lewis, Census 1881

However, the decline in membership later became so marked that Burslem was linked with the Baptists of Newcastle and Longton from 1905 to 1908 and with Newcastle only until 1912. This did not reverse the decline and when the Tabernacle was gutted by fire in 1944 the site was sold and no new accommodation was provided. This was a rather sad end for the mother church of the Baptists in the Potteries although it was always overshadowed by the other nonconformist churches in the town and Baptists were not prominent in civic affairs although L.J. Abington, the leading Baptist in the Potteries and North Staffordshire, was a frequent and popular speaker in Burslem in the 1850's.

The Congregationalists

The church was first established in 1820 and in 1837 they built a new church in Queen Street, next door to the Old Bell (or Brickhouse) Pottery. This building could accommodate 350 worshippers, though there were only 100 free places. In the basement of the church were the school rooms and in 1845 a new vestry was added. The building was of brick, set at a slight angle to the street, with three tall narrow windows above the main entrance separated by four columns. Above the central window was a large stone commemorating the building of the church. From the 1860's the Wedgwood Institute was a neighbour and from 1879 the Vegetable market replaced the potworks.⁵⁵

55 - Burslem Congregational Church. 150th Anniversary 1821-1871 pamphlet

Attendance in 1851 was 160 in the morning and 140 in the evening, rather lower than the average figures of 180 in the morning and 160 in the evening but this was attributed to the poor weather on census Sunday. In 1881 there were 119 worshippers in the morning and 151 in the evening. Yet it was felt that there was inadequate accommodation for the Sunday School so in 1883 a site on Furlong Lane was purchased. The foundation stones were laid on 29 October 1884 by Henry Lee M.P. and the Wycliffe Congregational Hall and Schools was opened with a sermon by the Rev. A. Macfadyen, D.D. on 16 July 1885. The building cost £3,300 and it doubled the number of Sunday scholars that could be taught. The main hall could take 550 adults and around it were various smaller rooms used as class rooms. In 1892 the Wycliffe Mission was started as the Hall was not just an extension of the Queen Street church but a replacement of the Dalehall chapel. The Congregational Year Book of 1870 gives a foundation date of 1865 for the Dalehall chapel though a directory of 1864 lists a "Methodist Congregational Chapel" on Newcastle Street. The Dalehall chapel could accommodate 150 and in 1881 there were 63 worshippers at the one service. There was no regular minister and by 1886 it was in disuse and was taken over as the Hope Mission of St. Paul's.⁵⁶

The building urge did not end with the Wycliffe Hall, in April 1898 a building fund for a new church to replace the Queen Street church was started and a site on Moorland Road was dedicated in July 1905 and the foundation stones were laid on 5 October 1905 and it was opened on 20 October 1906. It was named the William Woodall Memorial Church after the local M.P. who died in 1901. Woodall had been a keen member

56 - Census 1881, 150th Anniversary pamphlet, Staffordshire Advertiser
1 November 1884.
Jones's Directory 1864

of the Congregational church and had continued to teach a Sunday School class even after his election to Parliament. He played an important part in the efforts to erect the Wycliffe Hall. Not only was Woodall the senior partner in the earthenware the china firm of J. Macintyre & Co., but he had a distinguished career in public life. It was his work that saw the Wedgwood Institute project to successful fruition, he was a member of the Local Board of Health and twice Chief Bailiff, a member of the Town Council and member of Parliament.⁵⁷

The bust of William Woodall on the font of the church was unveiled by G.W. Garlick, (1834-1913) a life-long friend who was also a hard worker for the Congregationalists. He was a member of the Staffordshire Congregational Union and its one time president and he was instrumental in founding Congregational churches in Wolstanton and Alsager. He was a Sunday School teacher, a lay preacher, a deacon and a treasurer of the Congregational church. Garlick was the manager of the Burslem branch of the Manchester and Liverpool District Banking Co., from 1866 to 1898 and was the treasurer of numerous organisations.⁵⁸

The foundation stones were laid by G.W. Garlick, Corbett Woodall (brother of William Woodall) and Samuel Gibson. Gibson (1844-1914) was a manufacturer who had "risen from the ranks", in 1875 he was a partner in the earthenware firm of Gibson, Sudlow & Co. and in 1885 he built a new works on Moorland Road and set up his own firm which specialised in teapots. He was originally a Primitive Methodist and had been a Sunday School Superintendent and class leader and was a trustee of the

57 - Obituary - Local Newscutting vol. 3 p.201

58 - Obituary - Local Newscutting vol. 7 p.240

Clowes Memorial Church in 1876 and 1882. But he changed to the Congregational church and served it well; Sunday School Superintendent for twenty years, deacon and treasurer, he was on the executive of the North Staffordshire Congregational Union and although asked several times he declined the office of the president. His public service extended beyond the church, from 1895 to 1898 he was a member of the School Board and from 1898 to 1910 he was a town councillor, from 1906 to 1907 he was the Mayor and on 11 November 1906 the civic service was held in the Woodall Memorial Church. In 1906, as a member of the Education Committee, he gave £1,000 to set up a "Poor Children's Fund", one of the conditions being that the Congregational church had to provide one of the representatives on the administering body. In 1910 he gave an organ to the church worth £600-£700.⁵⁹

Such men as Woodall, Garlick and Gibson were no doubt encouraged by the pastors of the church. The longest serving pastor was Samuel Barton Schofield, from 1834 until his retirement in 1867. Schofield was not just a religious leader, he was to be found at meetings ranging from the temperance movement to the British Anti-State Church Association to the Political and Financial Reform Association of Burslem, a radical group.⁶⁰ The other pastor who made a considerable impression was the Rev. Thomas Hartley who began his ministry in Burslem in 1882 and retired in the Spring of 1900. He was known as "a powerful preacher. with intellectual qualities and spiritual fervour". He became a member of the School Board in November 1889, replacing a member who had resigned

59 - Obituary - Local Newscuttings vol. 8 p.27 from Staffordshire Sentinel 23 February 1914

Congregational Churches of Staffordshire - A.G. Matthews 1924

60 - Staffordshire Advertiser 16 February 1850, 31 May 1851

and he continued as a member in the Board of 1892-1895, which was an unelected Board. He stood in the 1895 election and came thirteenth so was not elected. The Rev. H.V. Stuart thought well of Hartley:

"There was too a great deal of public spirit in Burslem in those days; men like William Woodall and Thomas Hulme were fine examples of that public spirit; and they were supported by others of all shades of political thought in their efforts to improve the civic life of the town; they were strongly encouraged by men like my old Vicar (the Rev. J.M.A. Graham) and the Rev. J. (sic) Hartley the Congregational Minister, whom I came to know very well through the Free Library Committee." 61

The Congregational church in Burslem, though not large in numbers was a church that, because of the quality of its laity and ministers, played a considerable part in the life of the town.

The Methodists

Numerically the largest of the religious groups in the town there were more worshippers, more pupils at Sunday School and more teachers at the Sunday Schools than of any other group. Methodism was established in the eighteenth century and John Wesley paid his first visit to Burslem in 1760 and in 1783 Burslem became head of a circuit which included Hanley, in 1801 the major Wesleyan Chapel on Swan Bank was built. The Methodism created by Wesley remained the strongest form in Burslem, but after Wesley's death there were a number of schisms from the 'Old Connexion'.

61 - Burslem Congregational Church 150th Anniversary pamphlet
Local Newscuttings Vol. 7 p.244

A daughter of Samuel Gibson married a son of Rev. Thomas Hartley
Stories of a Staffordshire Parson - H.V. Stuart page 5.

In 1797 Alexander Kilham started the movement that became known as the 'New Connexion'. Its main difference from Wesleyan Methodism was in the greater participation of the lay members, in admitting new members and in expelling offending members. Other than in the work of the trustees the organisation of the New Connexion was exactly the same as for the Wesleyan Methodists, with classes, circuits, districts and the Conference at which policy was decided.

Open-air meetings were disapproved of by the Methodist Conference of 1807 and this led to the formation of the Primitive Methodists as a separate group. Leaders of the Primitive Methodists were John and James Bourne, William Clowes, and James Steels and the main open-air meeting to be commemorated was that held at Mow Cop on 31 May 1807. The first class was formed in 1810 and a Burslem class began in 1819. The difference between Wesleyan Methodism and Primitive Methodism was not one of doctrine but of organisation. Like the New Connexionists the lay members had a much greater say in the running of the church, but the Primitive Methodists associated themselves with and aimed their teachings at the poor people so their open-air camp meetings attracted those who would not attend a church or chapel. They also held services in ordinary homes to the same end.

There were further schisms, in 1835 the Wesleyan Methodist Association was formed which gave much more influence to the laity in the disciplining of offenders. In 1848 two Burslem chapels, Burslem Sunday School at Hill Top and Longport Sunday School joined the Association and in 1857 the Association, together with a number of other groups formed the United Methodist Free Churches.

These four groups, the Wesleyans, the New Connexionists, the Primitive Methodists and the United Methodist Free Church were represented in Burslem, but not the other groups of Methodists that formed at various times during the nineteenth century. In 1907 the New Connexion and the United Methodist Free Churches combined to form the United Methodist Church.

Wesleyan Methodists

Their main chapel at Swan Bank was built c1801, it was enlarged in 1816 and in 1851 was reckoned to seat 522 in free seats, 768 in other seats and accommodate 490 standing. A Doric portico was added in 1836 and a new west front was constructed in 1870. The building accommodated such large numbers because of its galleries, John Ward lists eight tiers of pews in the front gallery and six tiers in the side galleries. The boxed pews were removed in 1949 and the chapel was demolished in 1969.⁶²

Such a large chapel attracted large congregations, the average attendance was of 500 in the morning and 800 in the evening, though a visiting preacher could attract many more, as did Dr. Beaumont on Census Sunday when there were 1,000 at the morning service and 1,568 at the evening service, an attendance which reduced the congregations at other chapels on that Sunday. In 1881 there were 449 morning worshippers and 518 evening worshippers. The Rev. F.W. Macdonald was a junior minister in Burslem in the early 1860 s and described the chapel attendance of that period:

62 - Bazaar Souvenir Book 1906 - Hanley Ref. Lib.
History of the Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent - John Ward page 245

"morning and evening attendance on Sunday was the rule and the well filled family pew was in its glory as an institution. The week-night services had their regular and faithful adherents. The free seats were well occupied on Sunday, those for men being on one side of the chapel and those for women on the other. The singing was hearty and of a quality not to be despised."

This situation was not to continue and the "once-a-day-habit" began to prevail.⁶³

Closely connected with the chapel was the Sunday School. In 1850 the foundation stone was laid on 4 September by one of the general treasurers of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Thomas Farmer and the building was opened on 16 March 1851 and was recorded as having as attendance of 200 on census Sunday, a fortnight later. In 1883 there were 504 scholars and 57 teachers and the following year the building was extended and in the same year the Methodist Conference was held in Burslem for the second time, the first being in 1870. A third Conference was held in Burslem in 1900.⁶⁴

There were many other Wesleyan chapels established over the years. Longport had a chapel from 1811 at Clarence Street; in 1851 it had 222 sittings, of which 100 were free, there was an afternoon and evening service with an average of 50 worshippers in the afternoon and 60 in the evening. Thirty years later there were 78 at the first service and 103 at the second, but the accommodation was given as 500. There was also a Sunday School.⁶⁵

63 - Reminiscences of My Early Ministry - F.W. Macdonald 1912

64 - Religious Census 1851, Staffordshire Advertiser - 7 September 1850
15 March 1851. Centenary of Burslem Wesleyan Methodist Circuit
J.H. Beech 1883

65 - Bazaar Souvenir Book 1906
Religious Census 1851

The next area to be supplied by the Wesleyan Methodists was the hamlet of Sneyd when a chapel was built in the early 1820s. It was quite small, 115 sittings in 1851 and 100 in 1881 and there was a Sunday School in addition.⁶⁶ In 1840 a chapel was built on Hot Lane, Sneyd which was not successful: the congregation in 1851 was only 22 at the one service in the evening out of 68 sittings. In 1868 it was sold to the Primitive Methodists for £214 under whom it was enlarged and was much more successful. Hot Lane was a particularly poor area near the Sneyd Colliery; many of the inhabitants were coal miners so Wesleyan Methodism may have been still too closely associated with the Church of England and the class difference mentioned by Mann may have dissuaded the people of the Hot Lane area from attending a Wesleyan chapel whereas the Primitive Methodists specifically aimed at a working-class congregation.⁶⁷

The Sytch area of the Liverpool Road had a place of worship for Wesleyans which was listed from 1867 though a chapel was not built until 1879-1880. It had accommodation for 200 and at the rear of the chapel there was a Sunday School for 150. It was not listed in the 1881 census but in 1883 the Sunday school had 291 scholars and 35 teachers.⁶⁸

66 - Religious census 1851

67 - Religious census 1851, In the Power of God - J.W. Chappell 1901

68 - Keates & Ford's Directory 1867, Keates' Directory 1892-93
Centenary of the Burslem Methodist Circuit 1883 - J.H. Beech

The Stanfield area had a Wesleyan Methodist place of worship from at least 1875, in 1881 there was accommodation for 80 worshippers and 50 attended the one service in the evening and in 1883 the Sunday School had 90 scholars and ten teachers. A chapel was built on High Lane in 1890 and in September 1909 a new Sunday School was opened.⁶⁹

The expanding suburb of Middleport had a chapel accommodating 200 in 1881 together with a Sunday School. In 1899 an iron chapel was erected on the corner of Newcastle Street and Dimsdale Street which in 1905 became known as the Wesleyan Chapel and Schools.⁷⁰

The organisation of the Methodist church with its tradition of itinerancy established by Wesley meant that the ministers were only in Burslem for three years and they were expected to travel round within the Burslem circuit preaching in all the chapels. There were usually two ministers, sometimes three, as Hanley was part of the circuit until 1871. In 1883 the circuit extended to Norton, Smallthorne, Sandy Lane and Bradeley. In addition to the ministers there was a band of local preachers, the leading members of the classes. There were various associations connected with the chapels, the "Wesleyan Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society" distributed funds to the needy and also organised visits to

"the abodes of sickness and poverty and while temporary relief had been given the sufferers had been directed to Him who is able to save." 71

There was a branch of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, started in Burslem in 1820 with a juvenile branch founded in 1850. There was a Ladies Dorcas

69 - Keates' Directory 1875, Unofficial census 1881, Kelly's Directory 1908 Staffordshire Advertiser - 1 January 1910

70 - Potteries & Newcastle Directory 1907

71 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 16 January 1858

Society and a Wesleyan Young Men's Mutual Improvement Class.⁷²

The main methods of raising funds for the societies or purposes such as painting and decorating and general upkeep of the buildings, were lectures with a collection and the tea-meeting and special collections after sermons from visiting preachers. For example, 300 attended a tea meeting and the Rev. Dr. Bunting was the speaker, in September 1853 £235 was promised in contributions to the Wesleyan Relief and Extension Fund which helped to pay off chapel debts and gave relief to chapels and funds to extend Methodism.⁷³

Probably the most popular event of the year was the "anniversary" of the Sunday School, if there was a new minister it was his first occasion to preach in the new circuit and in the Wesleyan's case this was usually the first Sunday of September. The Rev. F.W. Macdonald remembered preaching at an anniversary service in a country chapel which was so crowded that he had great difficulty in approaching the pulpit, yet when he returned a short while later to preach again the chapel was nearly empty. In Macdonald's time the Sunday School was the "most popular of social and religious institutions. It had a great hold on the goodwill of the people." Yet, with hindsight, Macdonald was disillusioned with the effectiveness of the Sunday School:

"Judged alike by the tests of the Church's growth and the moral progress of the community at large, their results appeared to me inadequate and disappointing." ⁷⁴

As the ministers were not in Burslem long enough to make a particularly lasting impression, much of the organisation of the Wesleyan societies and the work of the church fell upon the lay members and

72 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 5 January 1850, 17 October 1857

73 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 5 November 1853

74 - Reminiscences of My Early Ministry - F.W. Macdonald 1912

certain families were particularly to the fore in their work for the Wesleyans. Most notable was the Edge family, Joseph Edge (1805-1893)⁷⁵ was a local preacher and a regular speaker at Wesleyan functions. In 1848 he was Chief Constable of the Market Trustees and his interest in local government continued for many years as he was a member of the Local Board of Health for all but a few years of its existence, in 1861-2 he was Chief Bailiff. Politically he was a Conservative, though he did not express strong political convictions. Equally he did not take a strong dissenting view over religious matters, generally displaying a tolerant attitude to the Church of England. He began his business career as a confectioner but in 1847 joined another prominent Wesleyan, Benjamin Cork,⁷⁶ as earthenware manufacturers at a potworks on Queen Street; the firm prospered and another Wesleyan, James Malkin (1828-1894) joined them in partnership c1860 after marrying Mr. Edge's eldest daughter. Joseph Edge took a keen interest in the Government School of Design and in its successor, the School of Art at the Wedgwood Institute. Mr. Edge also found time for the Board of Guardians, the Burslem Gas Company, the Staffordshire Potteries Waterworks Company, the North Staffordshire Tramway Company and the Chamber of Commerce. He was made Justice of the Peace in 1875 and was on the Committee of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society and the Staffordshire County Refuge for Discharged Female Prisoners and Fallen Women. Joseph Edge had an equally active family, one son, William Millett Edge (d.1920) was a member of the Local Board of Health, and from 1880 he was a member of the School Board, being vice-chairman from 1886, politically he was a Conservative and on the School Board was a moderate rather than a progressive.⁷⁷ Another son, John Wilcox Edge (1844-1923) was a town

75 - Obituary - Local Newscuttings vol. 4 p.62

76 - Benjamin Cork's daughter, Mary, married the Rev. F.W. Macdonald

77 - Burslem School Board Minutes

councillor from 1883 and twice Mayor, 1889-90 and 1890-91. He became a Justice of the Peace in 1883 and was one of the three new County Councillors for Burslem in 1889 and was elected one of the first County Aldermen. Unlike his father he was a Liberal in political matters and was asked to stand for Parliament by the North-West Staffordshire Liberal Association, but declined. He was connected with a number of organisations: the Board of Guardians, the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, the Staffordshire Waterworks Company, the Sneyd Colliery Company, Burslem Endowed School, and Burslem High School for Girls. He was disappointed when his scheme for including parts of Wolstanton (mainly Porthill) within the boundaries of Burslem was rejected in 1891, but he was a strong supporter of Federation.⁷⁸

Others closely associated with Wesleyan Methodism were the Dean family, whose members were on the Local Board of Health, the Ford family of whom William Ford (d1885) was the builder of the Sunday and Day Schools in 1850 and was Chief Bailiff from 1859 to 1860. William Ford's son, George Beardmore Ford, (d.1902) was a local architect who designed many of the Board Schools and a number of public buildings in the town, he was Mayor for the two years 1883-85, having been a councillor since 1878 and subsequently an alderman from 1889. His sister was married to Spencer Lawton, a potters' agent and valuer and three times Mayor of Burslem, 1886-87, 1893-94 and 1894-95.

Wesleyan Methodists were prominent members of all local organisations. Of the 22 Mayors of Burslem at least 14 were Methodists and nine of these were Wesleyan Methodists. This particular group of Methodists played an important part in the life of the town, because of

78 - Local Newscuttings vol. 3 p.193 Report of September 1899 J. Wilcox Edge married Ann, daughter of Stephen Edge of Newcastle-under-Lyme, his cousin. Stephen Edge was a member of the Burslem Local Board of Health 1863-69 and was a wholesale corn merchant and cheese factor in Burslem, his son was Stephen Rathbone Edge of Newcastle-under-Lyme.

the capabilities of their large membership.

Methodist New Connexion

The New Connexionists had worshipped in Burslem from 1798 and in 1824 moved to Bethel, a chapel on Waterloo Road. Built of brick, it had two wings, one of which was used as school rooms, the other was the minister's house. It could accommodate 660 worshippers in 1851; it was renovated in 1904 and the number of sittings increased to 800. The chapel trustees bought land behind the chapel, with a frontage on Regent Street, for a new Sunday School in 1851. The erection of the Sunday School did not begin until 1877 and it opened in 1878. It was named the Dr. Cooke Memorial School after William Cooke (1806-1884), a preacher of national fame and a popular theologian, the editor of connexional publications for 22 years and three times president of Conference. Dr. Cooke had been born in Burslem and had attended the day school run in connection with Zoar Chapel and he returned to Burslem to preach many times and preached the opening sermon of the school on 23 June 1878. The building for 400 children was of red brick, the bricks donated by J.P. Guy, and built to the design of James Watkin by James Bowden who was a trustee of the chapel, a member of the School Board and Town Council and Mayor from 1901-02.⁷⁹

Whilst Bethel served the central area of Burslem, Longport and Dalehall had a chapel on Globe Street called Zion. This chapel was built in 1840 for 170 worshippers and rebuilt for 300 in 1867. A Sunday School was added in 1853 at a cost of £300.⁸⁰

79 - History of the Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent - John Ward
Kelly's Directory 1908, After One Hundred Years - J. Young 1903
A New History of Methodism - Townsend, Workmen & Eayrs p.525 1909
80 - After One Hundred Years J Young 1903, Staffordshire Advertiser
21 May 1853, 29 October 1853.

Cobridge was served by Providence chapel on Grange Street. It had been built in 1822 for 228 worshippers, including 80 children. Rebuilt in 1884 with the frontage on Elder Road the new chapel could accommodate 650, including a gallery on three sides. It was renovated in 1903. The Sunday School was accommodated under the chapel and was designed for 400 scholars.⁸¹

Middleport had the Ebenezer Sunday School in Freehold Villas. A day School was held there in 1870 and the Sunday School existed in 1875 and was still there in 1892. It could accommodate 230 worshippers or scholars in 1881.⁸²

In 1851 Burslem became a separate circuit with Bethel at its head. In 1862, within the circuit, there were six chapels, five societies served by two circuit preachers and 12 local preachers. There were 352 members of the societies and 147 probationers. In 1870 the total membership had dropped slightly to 345, though there had been 16 deaths in the previous year. In 1862 there were 1,748 Sabbath scholars and in 1870 2,046 scholars. Although the New Connexionists increased their accommodation from 1,058 places in 1851 to 1,430 in 1881 and the rebuilding of Providence added another 322 places the numbers attending did not increase very greatly. In 1851 530 attendances were recorded at Bethel and 512 in 1881, Zion's attendances doubled from 90 to 180, Providence's from 151 to 257 and in 1881 Ebenezer had 294 attending but they may have been Sabbath scholars rather than a general congregation.⁸³

81 - Religious Census 1851, Potteries & Newcastle Directory 1907

82 - Keates' Directory 1875, 1879, 1892-93

66th Annual Conference Methodist New Connexion at Dudley 1862

74th Annual Conference " " " " Sheffield 1870

83 - After One Hundred Years - J. Young 1903 Harrod's Directory 1870
Keates' Directory 1875, Keates' Directory 1892-93

Whilst the Wesleyan Methodists could number several of the local manufacturers amongst their membership the New Connexionists tended to have a predominance of shopkeepers. Of the 20 trustees appointed in 1872 the occupation of 15 can be determined and of these there were five grocers, one watchmaker and jeweller, one engraver, one chemist and druggist, one herbalist, one accountant and general agent, one potter's manager, two solicitors and possibly one farmer. Of the 1892 trustees the occupation of 12 can be determined and there were four grocers, one confectioner, one bootmaker, one jeweller, one colour manufacturer, one accountant and house agent, one builder, a wholesale china and earthenware merchant and one printer and stationer. The New Connexion Methodists did not play as wide a role in the community as the Wesleyan Methodists, but they did have extensive Sabbath schools and took part in the religious affairs of Burslem.⁸⁴

The Primitive Methodists

The Primitive Methodist Society in Burslem dated back to 1819. It moved several times - from a disused crate-shop to a chapel on Navigation Road, to Zoar Chapel on Nile Street in 1844 and to Clowes Memorial Church in 1879. Zoar Chapel could seat 320 in 1851 and underwent extensive alterations in 1856 with a porch, new pews and a new roof. A cottage for a caretaker was added in 1859 and another cottage was bought in 1872. At that time there was a scheme to build schools on that site but it was decided, not without argument as some £1,300 had been spent on Zoar, to build a new church and schools on a different site. In 1876 a number of cottages were bought in Church Street with

84 - J. Young, 1903 After One Hundred Years

another cottage added in 1877. Zoar was sold for £640 to a Mr. John Smith who used it for his business of making casks, skips and hampers.

The memorial stones of the new Clowes Memorial Church were laid on 10 June 1878. It was designed by local architect, G.B. Ford and was of red brick with stone dressings. It was calculated to seat 900 but 750 was probably the true capacity and it opened on 27 March 1879. At first there were no separate schools, but in 1898 three adjoining cottages were purchased and on 16 April 1900 the foundation stones of the Clowes Institute were laid and the Hall and Schools were opened on 9 October the same year. The church and the Institute remained in use until 1956 when they were demolished because of the effects of mining subsidence.⁸⁴

Dalehall had a chapel on Albion Street from 1847 with room for 200. Extra land was purchased for a new chapel with a frontage on Maddock Street in 1900 but no further progress was made with the scheme.⁸⁵ Sneyd Green had a chapel on Sneyd Street from 1841 which was rebuilt in 1864 with an extra 50 seats.⁸⁶ In 1868 the Primitive Methodists bought the Wesleyan chapel on Hot Lane which they twice enlarged - in 1869 and 1876. Originally there were 68 sittings but these were increased to 230 by 1881. The foundation stones of an adjoining Sunday School were laid on 14 July 1910 and the £600 building was opened on 29 October 1910 for the 216 scholars and 24 teachers. The Primitive Methodists made a success of this chapel where the Wesleyans had failed. Hot Lane was always a poor area, it ran from the

84 - In the Power of God - J.W. Chappell 1901, Clowes Memorial Methodist Church 1878-1956 pamphlet

85 - In the Power of God - J.W. Chappell 1901

86 - Religious Census 1851

junction of Elder Road and North Road, passed Sneyd Colliery, to Red Bank and was crossed by the Loop Line Railway. In 1907 the neighbours of the chapel on one side were two miners, a carter and a grocer, on the other side, a carter, a plate-layer, a potter and a miner. The Primitive Methodists deliberately sought out these kinds of people and the increase in attendance is a measure of their success.⁸⁷

The Hamil Road Chapel was built in 1897 for the expanding suburbs around Burslem Park. It could seat 350 but already by 1900 plans for a larger church were prepared.⁸⁸

Until 1900 Burslem was part of the Tunstall circuit, in June of that year the Burslem circuit was established with nine churches - Clowes Memorial, Dalehall, Sneyd Green, Hot Lane, Hamil Road, and outside Burslem - Smallthorne, Longbridge Hayes, Wolstanton and Etruria. Whilst Burslem was part of the Tunstall circuit there were three, and in the 1860s four, ministers, though from 1880 this was reduced to two ministers. Like all the Methodist churches the Primitive Methodists relied on their lay workers, the local preachers, the leaders of the Bible classes, the Society stewards, the trustees and the trust secretary, the treasurer and the Sunday School superintendents and teachers.

Notable Primitive Methodists included the miners' leader and M.P. Enoch Edwards and his associate and successor and also an M.P. Samuel Finney who had thought of entering the ministry when young and was secretary and a local preacher of the Hamil Road chapel.⁸⁹

87 - In the Power of God - J.W. Chappell 1901, Potteries & Newcastle Directory 1907, Staffordshire Advertiser 16 July 1910, 5 November 1910

88 - In the Power of God - J.W. Chappell

89 - Local Newscuttings vol. 9 p.258
Dictionary of National Labour Biography

Other Primitive Methodists worthy of mention were Samuel Gibson the earthenware manufacturer who was a School superintendent and a class leader before he left to join the Congregational church; Robert Sudlow, (1845-1916) Gibson's business partner for about nine years, held the civic service in Clowes Memorial Church when he became Mayor in 1891.⁹⁰ William Cartlidge (1849-1915) an oven builder, was an active member, a trustee, president of the Men's Bible Class, Circuit School Union Treasurer, town councillor and alderman and later an alderman of the County Borough council of Stoke-on-Trent. Alfred Capper was an earthenware manufacturer who was a trustee, Circuit Steward, local preacher and the organist at Clowes for nine years. He was a member of the School Board and a town councillor until 1904 when he decided to live in Australia.⁹¹ The Primitive Methodists began to be more prominent in local affairs and organisations from the 1880's onwards, as the working people who comprised much of the membership of the church began to be organised in trade unions and as the franchise was extended they could enter local politics.

The United Free Church Methodists

The Burslem Sunday School began in 1787 as a Wesleyan School with the same trustees as the Wesleyan Church. At the school both reading and writing were taught, not to everyone's approval and in 1827 the Wesleyan Conference introduced stricter rules on Sunday Schools although these were not compulsory for existing schools. However, there was

90 - Local Newscuttings vol. 9 p.49 - Obituary Staffordshire Sentinel
9 December 1916

91 - In the Power of God - J.W. Chappell

much friction in Burslem over the question of the teaching of writing on a Sunday which led, in May 1836, to the lock-out of the managers, teachers and scholars by the Wesleyan trustees from the Wesleyan Sunday School building. The expelled Burslem Sunday School quickly established their own building and took nearly all the scholars with them. In 1837 they moved into the "New School" on the corner of Liverpool Road and Hall Street. The accommodation was listed as 1,322 in 1851, which was probably an over-estimate as 900-1,000 was the truer capacity. Over the years a number of alterations and additions were made to the "very monumental" building. Over 1849-50 the octagon end was added, in 1864 a new school for girls was added and pews were placed in the centre of the chapel, in 1889 an assembly room, balcony and new ceiling and in 1909 new classrooms were made and the 'Castle Inn' was converted into the Institute. There were always substantial congregations at the chapel, the 649 attendances on Census Sunday 1851 was below average because of the visiting preacher at the Wesleyan chapel, the average was said to be 1,200 attendances on a Sunday. In 1881 there were 778 attendances. The real pride of the Hill Top chapel was its Sunday School and rather oddly no figures for the Sunday scholars were recorded for the 1851 census.⁹² However, in 1850 the Burslem Sunday School had 1,094 scholars and 139 teachers and in 1854 there were 1,241 scholars but by 1874 there were 906 scholars and 99 teachers.⁹³ In 1848 they joined the Wesleyan Methodist Association and when the United Methodist Free Churches was set up in 1857 they became part of that organisation. The ministers came for the usual three year period and took up their posts at the end of August.

92 - Hill Top Methodist Church Centenary 1837-1937 and Burslem Sunday School Ter-Jubilee 1787-1937 - Rev. H.J. Watts and J. Bown.
History of the Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent - John Ward

93 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 31 August 1850, 26 August 1854
Keates' Directory 1875

That was when the sermon was preached in aid of school funds and large sums were raised, in the 1850's they were in the region of £70, £80, to £90. In 1894 the date was changed from the last Sunday in August to the second Sunday in September so that holiday makers would not miss that important service.

Funds were also raised for the Methodist United Free Church Benevolent Society and Home and Foreign Missions as well as for trust funds and the costs of maintenance and building improvements. Burslem Sunday School had twenty trustees appointed in 1839, 1855, 1875, 1888 and 1915. A variety of occupations was represented, for example in 1855 there were nine potters, two miners and one each of the following: cratemaker, carter, coal carrier, engraver, earthenware manufacturer, artist, agent, porter, and clerk. In 1875 there were four potters, three earthenware manufacturers, two potter's managers, two gentlemen, two writing clerks, and one each of the following : cratemaker, engraver, artist, agent, porter, furniture dealer, and tobacconist. By 1888 there were four potters, four earthenware manufacturers, three potter's managers, two commercial clerks and one each of the following: writing clerk, gentleman, relieving officer, stationer and printer, potter's warehouseman, engineer's draughtsman and a builder. In 1855 at least six trustees could be described as manual workers, in 1888 only one, in 1851 only one manufacturer, in 1888 there were four.

Longport had a Wesleyan Methodist Association chapel on Bradwell Street. Erected in 1838 it could accommodate 234 worshippers. It was connected with Burslem Sunday School and share the ministers. It was replaced by a chapel for 350, the memorial stone for which was laid on 13 May 1901 on the corner of Station Street and Limekiln Lane.⁹⁴

94 - Religious Census 1851 - Kelly's Directory 1908, Memorial Stone on building Limekiln Lane now called ~~Scott~~ Lidgett Road.

Considering that Burslem Sunday School had a membership second only to the Wesleyan chapel it is surprising that comparatively few members were active in local affairs. The organist for 40 years was Thomas Hulme (W) (1830-1905) and apart from his interest in music which made him president of the Tonic Sol-fa choir for many years he was a member of the Town Council, of the County Council, of the School Board (1880-1895) and chairman of the School Board from 1886. He was twice Mayor, 1882-83 and 1904-05, on the latter occasion he was Mayor although he had retired from the council in 1897. He was a governor of the Haywood Hospital and of Burslem Endowed School. His valuable collection of pottery art ware was presented to Burslem on his behalf by H.R.H. Princess Louise when she undertook the official opening of extensions to the Wedgwood Institute in 1894, extensions to which Thomas Hulme had made a substantial financial contribution; he also bought the site of the new School of Art and presented that to the town.⁹⁵

Although Thomas Hulme was never a trustee, among the trustees were T.F. Wood, Mayor 1888-89 and earthenware manufacturer who in 1892 presented the mace to the borough. Joseph Dawson (1843-1910), vice-chairman of the 1888 trustees, was the son of William Dawson, minister at Hill Top 1858-60 and supernumery minister from 1871-1887. Joseph Dawson set up a printing business in the 1860's which he conducted from various premises until he built a printing works, books and stationery shop and residence at 4 Newcastle Street in 1898. He was connected with William Owen and Enoch Bennett in the production of "The Staffordshire Knot" newspaper which failed in 1882. Arnold Bennett

95 - Burslem Sunday School Ter-Jubilee 1787-1937; Burslem School Board Minutes; Gravestone in Burslem Cemetery; Memorial stone on New School of Art, Queen Street, Burslem.

acknowledged Dawson as a friend and probably based much of his description of a printing works in "Clayhanger" on Dawson's works. Local builder, William Grant (d. 1910) was a member and a trustee. His firm built several schools in Burslem and the Woodall Memorial Chapel and the Longport United Methodist Free Chapel and also the new School of Art.⁹⁶

In spite of these men the United Methodist Free Church and also the New Connexion Church was probably under represented on local bodies such as the Board of Health and the subsequent Town Council, on the School Board and other societies.

Nonconformists, especially Wesleyan Methodists and Congregationalists, occupied an important place in the life of the town. Many of them undertook duties connected with their church and also found the time to be the prominent and predominant members of official organisations, the Local Board the Town Council, the School Board, the Board of Guardians as well as political parties and societies. Many ordinary people were involved in the religious and also the social and fund-raising activities of the various churches and chapels, though by the turn of the century it was being recognised that the attractions of the church appealed to a diminishing section of the population, though not an insubstantial section.

96 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 12 November 1910

Section III

Relations between the Established Church and the Nonconformists

On some matters there was close co-operation, on others there was considerable antagonism. The dissemination of the Christian message saw the Established Church and the nonconformists working together but if nonconformists money went towards the support of the Church or Church institutions then much opposition was aroused.

The Burslem Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society was one area of common ground. The object of the Society was the distribution of Bibles, New Testaments and Psalters. The Burslem Auxiliary had been established in 1832 and by 1851 over 15,000 Bibles and Testaments had been issued. At the annual meeting there were ministers from the Church of England, the Wesleyan Methodists, the New Connexion Methodists, the United Methodists and sometimes the Congregationalists. The Society had a depository in the town and occasionally had the assistance of a colporteur, in 1855 the colporteur doubled the number of works of Holy Scripture issued. Funds were raised by the sale of the Bibles, from subscriptions and from collections and gifts, and the balance of the receipts was sent to the parent Society. In 1851 a Bible for Schools and the poor cost 10d and a New Testament cost 4d.⁹⁷

If the Bible Society enabled ministers and lay people of different denominations to appear on the same platform and contribute to the same committee then they could co-operate on other occasions. In 1858 a series of prayer meetings was held on the theme of the Holy Spirit by

97 - Burslem Auxiliary Bible Society 19th Report 1851 - Local Pamphlets vol. 8; Staffordshire Advertiser - 24 November 1855

each denomination and this was followed up in 1859 with a series of special services in the Town Hall, each service taken by a different minister. The Local Board of Health were requested, by the Rev. P.B. Ellis and the Rev. Dr. J.E. Armstrong, to allow the use of the hall free of charge. After some argument a compromise was reached by which the Sunday afternoon service was charged £1, half the usual rental fee. These services were quite successful and it was intended to resume them in the autumn of 1859. But with his application for the Town Hall Ellis only offered a rent of 5s (25p) which was not acceptable to the majority of the Local Board who did not want their Town Hall lettings to run at a loss. Some members felt that there was adequate church accommodation in the town without using the Town Hall, though one member, Joseph Edge, thought that the people who went to the services in the Town Hall were those who would never go to a regular church. While the Local Board delayed the matter of the rental the services went ahead, the first was held in the National school room by the Parish Church and was conducted by the Rev. Dr. Armstrong, assisted by the Revds. W. Dawson (Wesleyan Methodist), S.B. Schofield (Congregationalist) and S. Jones (New Connexion). Subsequent services were held in Burslem Sunday School and Bethel Chapel. The Local Board finally decided that the main hall of the Town Hall could be let for Sabbath services at 10s.6d (52½p), the normal charge for meetings being £2.2s (£2.10p). At the end of 1860 the clergy involved congratulated themselves on the United Prayer Meetings that had been held. At a tea meeting in the Town Hall for several hundred people of all the evangelical denominations the Rev. Dr. Armstrong presided and spoke of "the delightful nature of Christian unity". In the report delivered by the

Rev. W. Dawson (United Methodist) he noted that the meetings had, on the whole, been well attended and that the benefits included "an increase in the spirit of love and unity and a more earnest desire to advance in personal holiness". The Rev. S.B. Schofield (Congregationalist) stated that the object of the united prayer meetings was "to soften down that spirit of party which was so natural to all sections of the church".⁹⁸

Sabbath observance was another area of co-operation and of joint action by church and nonconformist ministers. A meeting demanding the Sunday closure of public houses was addressed by all the Methodist ministers, three Church of England clergy and the Independent minister. The Temperance movement also saw combined action, although the churches and chapels formed their own temperance groups as well.

Friction did arise though, until church rates were abolished in 1868 they were a fruitful source of argument. Church rates were charged on all property occupiers regardless of their particular beliefs and by the mid nineteenth century the money was used for the general upkeep and running costs of the church. The rate was set at a vestry meeting, usually held at Easter each year, all the ratepayers could attend, the proposed rate could be challenged and a reduced rate passed or the rate could be postponed for a year if the nonconformists were in a majority. Opposition to church rates began in earnest in 1830 and the Braintree judgment of 1853 found that compulsion over payment was not possible, though it was another 15 years before they were abolished.

98 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 17 August 1858, 8 January 1859,
8 October 1859, 1 December 1860
Annual Reports of Local Board of Health 1850-1871

Burslem had more nonconformists than members of the Church, so argument over Church rates was inevitable unless a compromise was established. Such a compromise was worked out in 1850, the vestry meeting was attended by 200-300 people, including the anti-church-rate group and it was decided to make the rate voluntary for all the objectors and a number of the nonconformists offered to pay the rates of less well off nonconformists. The scheme proved very successful with nonconformists but Church members took advantage of it and were such poor payers that a compulsory rate book had to be prepared for them. At the meeting in 1851 the rate of 4d in the pound was reduced to 1½d and much of the discussion was on parliamentary action for the abolition of Church rates. The rate was kept down to 1½d in the pound in 1852 and a slightly different type of rate collection was decided upon, using a scheme already tried out in Manchester by which the rate was laid on all ratepayers but those who did not pay were not legally proceeded against. The following year the number attending the meeting was fewer and a rate of 3d was laid, though not all church people were good payers and the churchwarden complained that the bills for bread, wine, light, fuel, and cleaning still had to be paid by the wardens whether the parishioners had paid their rates or not. By 1856 only 12-15 people attended the vestry meeting to lay the rate which was set at 4d in the pound. Matters proceeded fairly smoothly but even the slightest suggestion that the situation was to be changed, as when the Rev. Dr. Armstrong took over as Rector, led to rumours flying around the town and a large attendance at the vestry meeting. In that event the rates were adjourned for twelve months at an amicable meeting.⁹⁹

99 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 31 August 1850, 11 October 1851, 1 May 1852
22 October 1853, 15 March, 1856, 9 July 1859.

There was a group of nonconformists who were very actively opposed to the laying of a Church rate and who would refuse to pay it. One of the most determined was George Wigley (1808-1889) who was quite prepared to suffer in pocket and person for his opinions. Wigley was a manufacturer, mostly of bricks but also of earthenware articles used in textile mills. He was elected to the Local Board of Health as a Liberal in 1855 and remained a member of nearly every Board until 1878 when he was elected to the new Town Council and was one of the first aldermen. John Maddock, (d.1877) a successful earthenware manufacturer was a leading member of the British Anti-State Church Association, a Liberal and a member of the Local Board of Health from 1850 until 1868 and was Chief Bailiff in 1852-53 and again in 1854-55. Another opponent of Church rates was John Pidduck, (d. 1886) local ironmonger who was a member of the Local Board from 1850 to 1855 and Chief Bailiff 1851-52.¹⁰⁰

The Anti-State Church Association was a national society founded in 1844 with the aim of separating religion from state patronage and control. It owed its foundation to Edward Miall, a Congregational minister who advocated disestablishment and other radical measures. Speakers at the Burslem branch included the ministers of the Wesleyan Association (the Rev. S.S. Barton), the Congregationalists (the Rev. S.B. Schofield) and the Baptists (the Rev. W. Barker). It was particularly active in the early 1850's but with the quiet situation which developed over Church rates in Burslem it was not so active in following years. In 1853 the Association changed its name to the "Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Control" or, more shortly, the "Liberation Society".¹⁰¹

100, - G. Wigley - Local Newscuttings Vol. 3 p.92, John Maddock, Burslem Newscuttings p.77 Local Board of Health Reports 1850-71

101, - Staffordshire Advertiser - 16 February 1850
William Woodall was president of the Liberation Society in a later year.

With the end of arguments over Church rates in 1868 relations between the Church and the nonconformists were quiet for a few years but the question of the cemetery chapel showed that inter-denominational argument was not dead. There was a protracted controversy on whether there should be one chapel, two chapels or three chapels, whether they should be consecrated or unconsecrated and whether the ground should be consecrated or unconsecrated. There was much discussion by the Cemetery Committee of the Town Council and both Bishop Maclaglan and Archdeacon Sir Lovelace Stamer were involved. The decision to have a public cemetery was taken in 1875 and the grounds were opened for burials in 1879 with the Bishop consecrating part of the cemetery. Two months later the matter of the chapels had not been resolved and counsel's opinion was sought. This stated that a chapel could be built on unconsecrated ground without the Bishop being able to interfere and in 1880 the Town Council decided to proceed with the erection of one chapel for all sects on unconsecrated ground. The argument had lasted for two years, it had involved conferences of the local clergy, many meetings of the Cemetery Committee and the Town Council, the expense of counsel's opinion, all due to the unwillingness of Bishop Maclaglan supported by Sir Lovelace Stamer to allow Anglican clergy to use an unconsecrated building, though, as was pointed out, clergy, including the Bishop, had preached in the unconsecrated Chell Workhouse. The attitude of the Anglicans on the Town Council was that "all questions of creed should be sunk at the grave". 102

The next issue which aroused the nonconformists was the proposed changes by which Church Schools would receive financial support from the rates, by 1896 a Nonconformist Council had been formed in Burslem and

102 - Burslem Newscuttings - 1872-1905 - pages 45,50,51,63,64,66,
*68, *69, 77,78-79, 80, 81
* between pages 73 and 74.

the Education Bill was called "reactionary and unjust" and it was thought that it would stir up "sectarian strife". A prediction that was to some extent fulfilled as in 1904 19 men were summoned for the non-payment of part of their poor rate. Three nonconformist ministers were leaders of the "passive resistance" protests - the Revds. John Young (New Connexion Methodist), W.S. Lamb (Congregationalist) and James Griffin (Primitive Methodist). At a meeting of the Burslem and District Citizens League the chairman, A. Shorter, condemned the 1902 Education Act but thought it had put "a great deal of backbone into Nonconformity", and the Rev. F.J. Ellis of Hill Top Chapel (United Methodist) considered it a fight between Nonconformity and the Bishops and Clergy of the Established Church, but not the ordinary church people. Whilst the protests did not change the Education Act the passive resistance movement united the nonconformists in a way that had not happened before.¹⁰³

Most of the time the clergy of the Established Church and the nonconformist ministers were occupied in the ministry of the gospel and were keen to preach the word to as many as possible. They did so in their own churches or chapels but they also preached in each other's chapels and in other meeting places and could co-operate in services for those people who did not attend a place of worship. There were some nonconformists who were reluctant to compromise over any matter with the Church, but with the removal of many of the causes of complaint by nonconformists over the years, although the goal of disestablishment was not achieved, they had less reason to object.

103 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 9 May 1896, 5 March 1904, 19 March 1904, 2 April, 1904.

Section IV

The Roman Catholics

Roman Catholicism in Burslem was centred on Rushton Grange. It survived the Reformation and the Catholics met at first secretly, later with circumspection, in the lower room of Grange Farm. This became too small and the school room of Cobridge Free School was used and in 1780-82 a chapel dedicated to St. Peter was built. It was enlarged in 1816 and in 1851 had room for 560 worshippers sitting and 40 standing. It was the "mother church" of the Potteries and lost part of its congregation when churches for Catholics were built in Tunstall in 1853 and Hanley in 1860. In 1881 St. Peter's was filled to capacity, with 568 attending the morning service and 590 the evening service in a building accommodating 600. In 1882 the incumbent, the Rev. P.J. Hendren, organised a substantial reconstruction by which a new chancel was added, the building was lengthened by 30 feet and stained glass windows installed. Another 100 worshippers could be accommodated. In 1895 a mission in the centre of Burslem was founded which drew off many worshippers and sittings were reduced to 360. Mining subsidence affected the church which was demolished in 1936 and a new church has been erected.

In 1890 the Little Sisters of the Poor opened a Home on Albion Street, Hanley and in July 1892 moved to Cobridge House which they purchased in September 1899. They decided to build a new home which was opened on 27 August 1903 for 74 inmates and 12 Sisters. It was extended in 1911. ⁽¹⁾

St. Joseph's Mission began in 1895 with services held in a room at Hill Top Pottery for a Roman Catholic population reckoned at 1,500

(1) - Staffordshire Advertiser 3 January 1903, 3 May 1902, 29 August 1903.

(including that of Smallthorne). A site for a combined church and school was bought in 1896 on Hall Street, the foundation stone was laid on 26 July 1897 and the church was opened on 17 March 1898. The upper storey was used as a temporary church for 350 and by 1907 Smallthorne had a chapel for 100. The permanent church of St. Joseph was built in 1927.

The numbers attending the Cobridge church on 30 March 1851 was surprisingly small, only 60 in the morning and 150 in the afternoon, although the Rev. Joseph Abbott commented that there had been a "recent influx of Irish ... mostly very destitute". Abbott's successor later that year, the Rev. Thomas Leith, gave the church a firm financial footing and by 1868 had raised the income to £203 per annum, this included an offertory of £60, bench rents of £57 and door offerings of £40. Under Leith the Tunstall and Hanley missions were opened but the Cobridge church survived the loss of worshippers and of the income they contributed. In 1873 Leith died and was succeeded by the Rev. Philip Hendren who stayed 30 years and was made a Dean of the Church. Within a year of his arrival Hendren was elected onto the first School Board in March 1874, he continued onto the second Board in 1877 but resigned in 1879. He rejoined the School Board in 1884, completed the term to 1886 but did not stand again. There was a Roman Catholic representative on the School Board of 1880-83 in the person of John Gratton, a potters' fireman, he began a term on the 1883-86 Board but resigned on his removal to Torquay. There was no Roman Catholic representation from 1886, but in 1895 the Rev. J.V. Hymers came second in the poll. Hymers was the priest-in-charge of the Burslem mission and was a member of the School Board and the subsequent Education Committee until he left Burslem in 1908 and his successor at St. Joseph's,

the Rev. William Browne, was also his successor on the Education Committee.

A branch of the Catholic Brotherly Society was founded in 1816 and at the annual dinners of the 1850's about 100 members attended and in 1874 the society had funds of £919 but the membership was not given. There was also a branch of the North Staffordshire Catholic Association.¹⁰⁴

Section V

Anti-Catholic Movement

In 1845 there was a considerable furore over a proposed government grant to a college for training priests at Maynooth in Ireland. The Act authorising the payment was passed in spite of a campaign against it, but the matter did not end there, at subsequent general elections the attitude of candidates towards the Maynooth grant was a factor with the voters.

At the Anti-Maynooth Conference held in the Exeter Hall in 1845 one of the speakers was the incumbent of St. Paul's, Dalehall, the Rev. P. Brabazon Ellis, who declared that "neither Tractarians nor Infidels" should be elected to parliament. In 1851 a public meeting was held in Burslem against "the Maynooth and Other Grants from the Government for the Maintenance of Popery", the result of the meeting was a petition of 600 signatures sent to Smith Child, M.P. At the general election of 1852 the Conservative candidate received the support of the Rev. P.B. Ellis because of Copeland's opposition to the Maynooth grant. Ald. Copeland was not elected to parliament, but the results of the poll showed that he received considerable support in Burslem and

104 - A Brief History of the Catholic Church in Stoke-on-Trent - Michael Greenslade - Catholic Trust Society 1896
Burslem School Board Minutes and Education Committee Minutes

came top of the local list. After the election a meeting of the Burslem Protestant Association was held and a rather sharply worded resolution was passed:-

"That the object of the Burslem Protestant Association, avowed at its formation and assented to by all of its members was to 'communicate Protestant knowledge and promote Protestant feelings and interests'. That in the maintenance of that object the cordial and undivided support of the only candidate on Protestant principles at the recent Election for the borough of Stoke-upon-Trent was a duty strictly incumbent on every member of this association and that we deeply regret that that duty has not been performed by every member." 105

Opposition to the Maynooth grant was not the only anti-Roman Catholic movement of the 1850's. When, in 1850, the Pope established a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales, this move was interpreted by the Press in England as "papal aggression". From October 1850 until about March 1851 the agitation against "papal aggression" was intense. Most of the objections came from the Established Church; though nonconformists often sympathised with the sentiments expressed, they were very reluctant to give active opposition to Roman Catholics because any restriction of the Civil liberties of Roman Catholics could equally apply to protestant dissenters.

The first meeting in Burslem was held in the first week of November 1850 in the National school room by the Parish Church. Most of those present were the clergy and laity of the Established Church, but the speakers did include two Wesleyan ministers. The result of that meeting was a series of sermons preached by the Rev. P.B. Ellis of St. Paul's which attracted attendances of about 1,200. The next step was the formation of a Protestant Association which aimed to "communicate

105 - Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England - E.R. Norman - listed as Rev. B(rabazon)Ellis
Staffordshire Advertiser 15 February 1857, 1 March 1851, 17 July 1852.

Protestant knowledge and promote Protestant feelings and interests by periodical lectures". By the end of December 1850 the Association had 50 members and was named the 'Longport and North Burslem Protestant Association' in the expectation that it would be the first of several in the area. The chairman was the Rev. P.B. Ellis and the president was James Bateman. Throughout January, February, March and April a lecture was given each week in the Town Hall or the Wesleyan School room. The lectures were all given by clergymen and had titles such as "The Rise, Progress, Maturity and Decline of the Papacy", "Popery in Ireland", "The Idolatries of the Church of Rome".¹⁰⁶

The Protestants did not go unchallenged: on 24 March 1851 there was a meeting in the Roman Catholic School room which was attended by 500. At the meeting it was decided to petition parliament against a ministerial measure on "papal aggression". Following a lecture by the Rector of Longton, Dr. Vale, on "The Cruelties of Popery" the Catholic priest in Cobridge, the Rev. Joseph Abbott, wrote a sarcastic reply which was published in the Staffordshire Advertiser and issued as a pamphlet. This drew a critical reply from the Rev. P.B. Ellis and a few weeks later a pamphlet called "The Tender Mercies of Rome" was issued by the Protestant Association. However, by June the controversy was dying down and Abbott left Burslem.¹⁰⁷

Even by February 1851 it was realised that other Protestant Associations were not going to be formed in Burslem so the "Longport and North Burslem Association" became the "Burslem Association". In December 1851 a North Staffordshire Protestant Association was formed at a meeting held in Stoke-upon-Trent and it took over from the local

106 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 9 November 1850, 14 December 1850

107 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 29 March 1851, 12 April, 1851, 7 June 1851

associations.

After 1852 interest and activity in the anti-papal movement declined. In March 1852 Father Gavazzi, a lapsed monk from Naples, who gave hundreds of addresses around Britain, spoke in Burslem and at least 1,000 attended his speech on Romish relics and miracles and the conventual system. A second address in August of that year had a slender attendance, unfavourable weather was blamed but there must also have been a lack of interest.

A Young Men's Association on the Protestant Principles of the Church of England had a Burslem and a Cobridge branch. The Cobridge branch was still in existence in 1854 and rented the old Free School for their meetings, from the Local Board. A complaint was made to the Local Board of Health when the Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. T. Leith, was refused membership of the Association. Although it was a society to uphold Protestant principles, these were not enforced and apparently many Roman Catholics were members. The Local Board decided that, although it was a private society, the rules had to be subservient to the Local Board which had no religious test.¹⁰⁸

Anti-Catholic feelings in later years shifted to the Irish Church Mission. This was intended to convert the Irish to Protestantism. The Rector of Burslem from 1850 to 1858, the Rev.C. Hebert, was the honorary secretary of the North West Branch of the Diocese of Lichfield. In 1852 a public meeting was held at which one of the speakers was the Rev. Charles O'Neill Pratt, later the incumbent of St. Paul's, (1864-1872). An annual sermon and meeting was held in aid of the Irish Church Mission in 1853 and 1854. In 1855 attention

108 - Staffordshire Advertiser 6 May 1854

turned to the conversion of Roman Catholics in England. The honorary secretary of the "Society for the Promotion of Scriptural Truth among the Roman Catholics of England" was the Rev. Dr. J.E. Armstrong. He held a series of meetings in the Potteries in February 1855 and returned the following year. After spending two years in France he took over the Rectorship of Burslem. In 1865 he awarded a prize to an essay entitled "The World's Wail of Misery from Rome's Revolting Tyranny" by W.L. Evans. With the departure of Armstrong in 1869 active and vocal criticism of the Papacy and the Church of Rome dwindled. The Rev. Ellis had died in 1861 and Pratt became more concerned with the construction of a new parsonage house.

The anti-papal movement was led by the clergymen of the Established Church, nonconformists were not prominent at the meetings, apart from some Wesleyan Methodists who had sympathies with the Church of England. Other dissenters were more wary, their position was stated by the Rev. S.B. Schofield the Congregationalist minister, in a lecture he gave on 1 December 1850 entitled "Popery, Anglican as well as Romish and the right mode of dealing with it". It gave expression "to the views of those religious Nonconformists who object to all State interference with religion on the present agitation and kindred topics".

Opposition to the Roman Catholics extended as far as sermons and pamphlets and speeches, but in spite of the inflammatory language adopted nothing more violent transpired and the agitation passed off relatively peacefully.*109 The Roman Catholics were an established

*109 - An example of the sentiments expressed during the "papal aggression" period:- verses added to the National Anthem sung at the laying of the foundation stone of Holy Trinity Church on 8 July 1857:

"Gainst Rome's usurping hand
Uphold thy favoured land
God save the Queen
From subtle Jesuit blow
From Romanising foe
And coward craft below,
God save the Queen.

May we protesting stand
With several shields a band
Around our Queen
Albert will never flinch
Nor commons be an inch
Nor Peers of England flinch
God save the Queen.

part of the community and showed no signs of taking over in the manner predicted and feared by Ellis and others. Most of the ferment had died down by June 1851 and was sporadic in later years. despite attempts by Ellis and Armstrong to whip up feelings.

Section VI

Other Religious Groups

The numbers involved in other groups was not very great, and they did not have the impact on the town that the established denominations had. Various mission rooms were used by a variety of sects. On Commercial Street was the Gospel Mission Room, in 1858 it was being used by the Free Gospel Chapel when a boy was fined 2s 6d (25p) for knocking at its door and annoying the congregation during the service, his mother pleaded in mitigation that the chapel was a great nuisance in the neighbourhood on account of the "extraordinary noises" which proceeded from it. In 1859 an application by the teachers of the Free Gospel Sunday School to have the free use of the Town Hall for special services in aid of a school building fund was turned down by the Local Board of Health. The Mission Room was still there in 1908.¹¹⁰

The Greenhead Mission Room had accommodation for 60 in 1881 and at the unofficial census had an attendance of 42, but of which sect was not specified. The room was possibly the same as the Wedgwood Mission Hall which from 1890 was occupied by the Church of Christ which in 1910 built a permanent chapel on the corner of Macclesfield Street and Leonard Street.

The Latter Day Saints had a meeting place in 1884, the Gospel Hall on Queen Street, but they did not remain in Burslem. A sect called the Christian Brethren was meeting in 1881 at an unspecified place with room for 50 and an attendance of 39 at each of the two services. The Salvation Army had a barracks on Brindley Street, Dalehall, registered in 1903 and a citadel on Hall Street also registered in 1903.

110 - Staffordshire Advertiser - 4 December 1858, 4 June 1859
Kelly's Directory 1908

The Victoria County History lists a number of sects that registered places of worship, but it records that the Gospel Mission Room on Commercial Street was registered in 1883 although it was clearly in use as a chapel in 1858, so registration did not necessarily mean that it marked the commencement of religious use of the building, nor does it follow that a registered building was actually used for religious purposes. The Gospel Hall on Queen Street was registered by the Latter Day Saints in 1884 and it was cancelled in 1896; prior to the Mormons the Hall was registered in 1882 by the Salvation Navy. The Corporation Street Mission Room was registered in 1882 by the Burslem Home Christian Mission, in 1883 by the Salvation Mission and in 1884 by the Nazarene Christian Mission. The former Borough Auction Room in Wedgwood Street were registered by the Rescue and Evangelical Mission in 1886 and by the Borough Mission in 1887, it is possible that the Wedgwood Mission Hall used from 1890 by the Church of Christ was the same building. A Spiritual Temple was registered in 1890 on Newcastle Street. Most of these religious groups seem to have been rather short-lived in Burslem with a small following, and were unimportant compared with the main denominations, although they might have acted as a stimulus to the evangelical work of the nonconformists and Established Church.

Religious Census 30 March 1851

Place of Worship	Morning		Afternoon		Evening		Totals		G C - General Congregation
	G C	S S	G C	S S	G C	S S	G C	S S	
Church of England							593	736	S S - Sunday Scholars
St John the Baptist	-	161	-	161	-	-			
St Paul's, Dalehall	174	68	-	-	199	-			
Christ Church, Cobridge	100	162	120	184	-	-			
Baptists							77	50	
Baptist Chapel, High Street	25	50	-	-	52	-			
Congregationalists							300	190	
Queen Street Independent Chapel	160	60	-	130	140	-			
Wesleyan Methodists							2740	423	
Swan Bank Chapel	1000	200	-	-	1568	-			
Longport Chapel	-	-	50	68	60	20			
Hot Lane Chapel	-	-	-	-	22	27			
Sneyd Green Chapel	-	-	15	84	25	24			
New Connexion Methodists							771	432	
Bethel Chapel, Waterloo Road	210	190	-	-	320	-			
Zion Chapel, Dalehall	-	-	42	90	48	56			
Providence Chapel, Cobridge	-	-	81	76	70	20			
Primitive Methodists							333	285	
Nile Street Chapel	-	-	66	115	120	-			
Albion Street Chapel	-	-	42	130	50	40			
Sneyd Green Chapel	-	-	15	-	40	-			
Wesleyan Methodist Association							989	140	
Burslem Sunday School, Hill Top	242	-	-	-	407	-			
Longport Sunday School	-	-	50	80	290	60			
Roman Catholics							210	-	
St Peter's, Cobridge	60	-	150	-	-	-			

Religious Census 1851 - Average Attendances

Place of Worship	Accommodation	Morning		Afternoon		Evening	
		GC	SS	GC	SS	GC	SS
Church of England							
St John the Baptist	660	300	120	100	120	330	-
St Paul's, Dalehall	1500-2000	-	120	-	-	-	-
Christ Church, Cobridge	561	-	-	-	-	-	-
Baptists							
Baptist Chapel, High Street	120	40	50	-	-	80	-
Congregationalists							
Queen Street Independent Chapel	350	180	60	-	130	160	-
Wesleyan Methodists							
Swan Bank Chapel	1290	500	200	-	-	800	-
Longport Chapel	222	-	-	50	60	60	20
Hot Lane Chapel	68	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sneyd Green Chapel	115	-	-	-	-	-	-
New Connexion Methodists							
Bethel Chapel, Waterloo Road	660	320	200	-	-	440	-
Zion Chapel, Dalehall	170	-	-	-	-	-	-
Providence Chapel, Cobridge	228	-	-	81	76	70	26
Primitive Methodists							
Nile Street Chapel,	320	-	-	70	105	115	-
Albion Street Chapel	200	-	-	42	130	60	45
Sneyd Green Chapel	200	-	-	-	-	40	-
Wesleyan Methodist Association							
Burslem Sunday School, Hill Top	1322	400	-	-	-	800	-
Longport Sunday School	234	-	-	60	120	60	10
Roman Catholics							
St Peter's, Cobridge	560	60	80	-	-	-	-

GC - General Congregation; SS - Sunday Scholars

Religious Census taken on 18 December 1881

	Places	Morning	Afternoon Evening
Church of England			
St John the Baptist	800	294	292
St Paul's, Dalehall	1200	400	450
St Paul's Mission Room, Sytch	180	-	79
Christ Church, Cobridge	250	137	143
Holy Trinity, Sneyd	350	87	147
Baptists			
Baptist Tabernacle, Liverpool Road	400	78	95
Congregationalists			
Queen Street Independent Chapel	350	119	151
Dalehall Congregational Chapel	150	-	63
Wesleyan Methodists			
Swan Bank Chapel	900	449	518
Longport Chapel	500	78	103
Sneyd Green Chapel	100	38	56
Middleport Chapel	200	122	168
Stanfield Chapel	80	-	50
Sneyd Chapel	-	74	78
New Connexion Methodists			
Bethel Chapel, Waterloo Road	700	216	296
Zion Chapel, Dalehall	300	60	120
Providence Chapel, Cobridge	200	120	137
Ebenezer School-Chapel, Freehold Villas	230	100	194
Primitive Methodists			
Clowes Memorial Church	750	245	284
Albion Street Chapel	200	118	103
Hot Lane Chapel	230	127	165
United Methodist Free Church			
Burslem Sunday School, Hill Top	900	311	467
Roman Catholics			
St Peter's, Cobridge	600	568	590
Others			
Greenhead Mission Room	60	-	42
Christian Brethren	50	39	39

'Enumerators counted children sitting with the general congregation but not Sunday scholars separately grouped. We fear, however, that as regards Burslem, some of our enumerators have not perfectly understood this provision.'

These results were published in the Staffordshire Sentinel on 24 December 1881 and a summary of the totals was published in The Nonconformist in February 1882.

No indication of the accommodation in the Sneyd Wesleyan Chapel was given. The Longport Chapel of the United Free Methodists was not listed at all.

APPENDIX III

Summary of Places of Worship in Burslem 1850-1910

Church of England

St. John the Baptist's Church, Burslem Parish Church

Established in the sixteenth century, rebuilt in 1717, extended in 1788. Created the Parish Church of Burslem by the Stoke Rectory Act of 1807 when the living was made a Rectory. The interior was renovated 1878-1879 with additional galleries, since removed. Surrounded by a churchyard.

Rectors:-

1850-1858	Charles Hebert
1858-1869	John Echlin Armstrong
1869-1886	Alfred Watton
1886-1903	Henry Edwards
1904-1928	Arthur Williams

St. Paul's Church, Dalehall

The foundation stone was laid on 24 June 1828 by Dr. Henry Ryder, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry and the church was consecrated on 19th January 1845 by Dr. Ryder. It became an ecclesiastical Parish on 24th January 1845. The incumbent was a perpetual curate until 1868 when he became a vicar. The building was demolished in 1974 and a new church erected on the site. Surrounded by a churchyard now cleared of grave-stones.

Incumbents:-

1841-1861	Philip Brabazon Ellis
1861-1864	John Edward White
1864-1872	Charles O'Neill Pratt
1872-1882	John Deacon Massingham
1882-1901	John Malcolm Alexander Graham
1901-1904	William Mitchell Probert
1904-1913	Henry Hyma Redgrave

St. Paul's Mission, Sytch

Opened in a Mission Room in September 1879. The foundation stone of a Mission Church was laid on 26th May 1894 by Mr. L.K. Shoobridge, at a site on the corner of Melbourne Street.

St. Paul's Hope Mission, Dalehall

Opened in 1886 in the former Congregational chapel. It moved to a new building on Shirley Street in 1890.

Christ Church, Cobridge

Consecrated on 16 April 1841 it was enlarged in 1842 or 1845/6. It was created an ecclesiastical parish on 24th January 1845. The interior was renovated over 1897 to 1900. No Churchyard.

Incumbents:-

1846-1871	William Dunn Lamb
1871-1895	James Alexander McMullen
1895-1912	James Wardle Alston

St. Andrew's (Bates Memorial) Church, Sneyd Green

Dedicated on 28th January 1909 it became a statutory district in 1955. The foundation stones were laid on 25th July 1908.

Holy Trinity Church, Sneyd

The foundation stone was laid by Smith Child, M.P. on 8th July 1851 and the consecration was by the Bishop of Lichfield on 14th October 1852. It was created a Peel District Parish on either 3rd June 1844 or 23rd May 1845 and a separate ecclesiastical parish in 1857. It was considerably beautified between c1890 and c1910. It was demolished in 1956.

Incumbents:-

1848-1851	Thomas Pomeroy Leigh Yewens
1851-1856	John Beaumont
1856-1866	Samuel Sandberg
1866-1887	Stephen Eversfield
1887-1901	Alfred Campion
1901-1920	Thomas Harvey Rabone

St. Werburga's Mission Church

Opened in 1895 on Hamil Road it is the present Holy Trinity Church.

Baptist Church

Baptist Chapel, High Street

It was opened in 1806, renovated and a gallery added in 1828 and sold in 1869 to the Ragged School Committee. It had a small graveyard. It is still standing.

Baptist Tabernacle, Liverpool Road

The foundation stones were laid on 5th September 1876 and it was opened on 8th May 1877 by the Rev. J.P. Chown of London. It was gutted by fire in 1944.

Pastors:-

1849-1855	William Barker
1855-	J.W. Kirton
1863-	Thomas Philips
1866-	E.J. Sargeant or J.E. Sargeant
cl870	various
1872-1879	Henry Charles Field
1880-	W.G. Coote
1882-	W. Bonser
cl884	vacant
cl889-cl892	W. Ross
1905-1908	A.S. Langley
-1912	A. Bach

Congregational Church

Independent Chapel, Queen Street

Building of the chapel began in August 1837 and the first service was held in the uncompleted building on 3rd December 1837 and it opened on 8th March 1838. In 1906 the congregation moved to the Woodall Memorial Church and the Queen Street chapel was subsequently demolished.

Wycliffe Congregational Hall and Schools, Bath Street

The foundation stone was laid by Mr. Henry Lee, M.P., on October 29th 1884 and the building was opened on 16th July 1885 by the Rev. A. Macfadyen, D.D. In January 1892 the Wycliffe Mission was started.

William Woodall Memorial Church, Moorland Road

The foundation stones were laid on 5th October 1905 by (Sir) Corbet Woodall, Mr. Samuel Gibson and Mr. G.W. Garlick. The church was opened with silver keys on 20th October 1906 by (Sir) Corbet Woodall and Mr. Samuel Gibson and the bust of William Woodall was unveiled by Mr. G.W. Garlick. The first service was taken by the Rev. P.T. Forsyth, D.D.

Dalehall Congregational Chapel, Newcastle Street

Services began in 1865 but it was no longer in use by 1885.
It was taken over by St. Paul's mission.

Pastors:-

1834-1867	Samuel Barton Schofield	1834-1867
1868-1876	John Fernie	1868-1875
1876-1878	Matthew Braithwaite	1878-1879
1879-1881	John Henry Ridette	1879-1882
1882-1900	Thomas Hartley	1882-1899
1900-1909	Walter Stanley Lamb	1900-1909
1910-1919	Allan William Stevens	1910-1919
(1)		(2)

(1) Congregational Churches of Staffordshire.
A.G. Matthews 1924

(2) Burslem Congregational Church - 150th Anniversary 1821-1971

Wesleyan Methodist Church

Swan Bank Chapel

Erected in 1801, enlarged in 1816 it had a new front added in 1870. It was demolished and a new church built on the site 1969-1971. A new Sunday School was built 1850-1851. Thomas Farmer laid the foundation stone on 4th September 1850 and it was opened on 16th March 1851. The memorial stones of an extension were laid on 21st January 1884 by Mr. J. Hall of Leek, Mr. A.D. Stocker of Stoke-upon-Trent and Mrs. Ezra Bourne of Burslem.

Longport Chapel, Clarence Street

Erected about 1811.

Sneyd Green Chapel, Sneyd Street

Erected about 1821 or in 1824. Foundation stones of a new School-Chapel laid on 7th November 1907; opened 25th June 1908 by the Rev. G. Arthur Guest MA LID.

Hot Lane Chapel

Erected in 1840 it was sold to the Primitive Methodists on 20th June 1868.

Liverpool Road Chapel

The memorial stones of the chapel and school were laid on 23rd September 1879 and it was opened on 5th May 1880. Extended 1902-3.

Stanfield Chapel, High Lane

The chapel was erected in 1890 and a Sunday School was opened in September 1909, the foundation stones being laid on 10th June 1909.

Middleport Chapel

A School-Chapel opened 5th December 1877 by Rev. W.B. Pope DD in Newport Lane; an iron chapel was erected on the corner of Newport Lane and Dimsdale Street in 1899. In 1905 the name was changed to the Wesleyan Mission Chapel.

New Connexion Methodist Church

Bethel Chapel, Waterloo Road

The foundation stones were laid on 19th June 1824 and it was opened on 26th December 1824. A school and minister's residence were added in 1835, the front altered in 1883 and the building considerably renovated in 1904. The memorial stones of the Dr. Cooke Memorial School were laid on 10th September 1877 and Dr. Cooke preached the opening sermon on 23rd June 1878. The building is now used as a storage depot.

Zion Chapel, Globe Street, Dalehall

Erected in 1840 and rebuilt in 1867 it has been demolished. A Sunday School was opened in 1853, the foundation stone being laid on 17th May 1853 by Mr. Joseph Love of Durham and the opening services were held on 16th and 23rd October of the same year. It has been demolished.

Providence Chapel, Grange Street, Cobridge

Erected in 1822 it was rebuilt in 1884 with its front on Elder Road. It was renovated in 1903.

Ebenezer Sunday School/Freehold Villa Chapel

Opened on 2nd February 1862 and still in existence in 1892.

Primitive Methodist Church

Nile Street Chapel

In 1843 the Primitive Methodists moved to Zoar Chapel on Nile Street and made extensive alterations in 1856. It was sold for a non-religious use in 1878.

Clowes Memorial Church, Church Street

The foundation stones were laid on 10th June 1878 and it was opened on 27th March 1879. The Institute was built in 1900 the memorial stones were laid on 16th April 1900 and it was formally opened by Mrs. W.W. Dobson on 10th October 1900. The congregation left the church in 1956 and it was then demolished.

Albion Street Chapel, Dalehall

Erected in 1847, a new chapel was planned in 1900 on Maddock Street but not built.

Sneyd Green Chapel

Erected in 1841 it was rebuilt in 1864, the foundation stone being laid on 9th November 1863.

Hot Lane Chapel

Purchased from the Wesleyan Methodists in June 1868 it was enlarged in 1869 and 1876. The foundation stones of a Sunday School were laid on 14th July 1910 and it was opened by Mrs. A. Johnson of Wolstanton on 29th October 1910.

Hamil Road Chapel

The site was purchased in May 1897 and the chapel was built in August 1897.

United Methodist Free Church

Burslem Sunday School, Hill Top Chapel

Burslem Sunday School began in 1787 and the Hill Top chapel was opened in 1837. The octagon end was added in 1849-1850, a new school for girls was added in 1864, an assembly room, balcony and new ceiling installed in 1889 and new classrooms in 1909.

Longport Sunday School, Bradwell Street

Erected in 1838, and extended in 1866. The foundation stone of the present Methodist Free Church was laid on 13th May 1901 on the corner of Station Street and Limekiln Lane; it was opened on 2nd February 1902.

Roman Catholic Church

St. Peter's Church, Cobridge

Erected in 1780-82 it was enlarged in 1816 and partly rebuilt in 1882, being reopened on 5th July 1882 by Bishop Ullathorne.

St. Joseph's Chapel

The mission was established in 1895 and the foundation stone was laid on 26th July 1897 by Mr. Joseph Emery and it was opened on 17th March 1898.

Church of Christ

The congregation used the Wedgwood Mission Hall from 1890 and the foundation stones of the present chapel were laid on 28th May 1910 by Mr. James Marsden, J.P. of Wigan and Mr. T.J. Ainsworth of Birmingham.

EDUCATION

1850-1874

In Burslem children were workers rather than scholars. Mostly they worked in the pottery industry from an early age, for long hours and for small wages. The parents were as ignorant as the children, but even if they wanted to send their children to school there were few schools and standards in the existing schools were often low. Children who did attend school did so for so short a time that they learnt very little. Although the situation was known and legislation on education had existed since 1833 the Factory Acts Extension Act of 1864 was the first piece of legislation to have a major impact on education in the area.

Schools were run either by religious groups or by private persons, in both cases they were fee-paying, In addition to the day schools, the churches and chapels had Sunday Schools and some also had evening Schools. The day Schools rarely had children over the age of twelve and opportunities for further education were extremely limited. A School of Design lasted from 1853 to 1858 and a School of Science lasted from 1855 to 1859. Schools of both Science and Art were established in the Wedgwood Memorial Institute when it eventually opened in 1869 and formed a firm foundation for further education in the town.

The limited or non-existent education of the town's children was revealed by the interviews conducted by a sub-commissioner of the Children's Employment Commission in 1841. A ten-year old boy stated:

"I cannot read; I cannot write; I went to day-school; don't know how long it was; not a year; I go to Sunday-school sometimes; not always; I got no clothes to go in."¹

A twelve-year old girl stated:

"I cannot read or write. I never went to day-school since I was a little girl, then I went to learn to spell; I do not go to Sunday school cause mother is ill, I shall go when she gets better; shall go to Wesleyans."²

A twelve-year old boy who worked as a mould-runner told Samuel Scrivens, the sub-commissioner:

"I went to day-school, eight years at Natural School (National) and learnt Testament and Bible- I can? a bit (he cannot spell S.S.) and write a little bit; I could do both very well till I went to Natural. I used to go to a house school before. They used to put boys over me that could na read better than meesel; I did na like that. When they came to hard words they used to say 'Go on, put it off $\frac{3}{3}$ put it off' I told my father then, and I came away and came to work."³

A ten-year old paper-cutter:

"I cannot read, I cannot write, I went to day-school⁴ about two years ago at Cobridge. I was there six months I reckon."

A twelve-year old jigger-turner:

"I canna read or write; I canna tell⁵ ye how long sin, but I did go; ha been to Sunday-school two year."

The majority of these working children were unable to read or write, in spite of attending school. A survey of the numbers who could read and write in the town was carried out by the committee of the Operative Conservative Association. The town was divided into thirteen districts and 'active and intelligent persons' were appointed to visit each house to list the number in the family, then exclude those under six years of age, and of the remainder, to count those who read, those who could write, those who could neither read nor write. There was no test, people were asked about their abilities so it gave no indication as to how people could read or write. The results confirmed a statement in the

1 Children's Employment Commission Appendix to 2nd Report Vol 2 Interview No 174.

2 Children's interview No 198

3 Children's interview No 207

4 Children's interview No 201

House of Commons by Lord Ashley on the lamentable state of ignorance in the town. Out of a population of 9,672, excluding those under six years and some under seven years of age, 6,077 could read, 4,709 could write, but 3,240 could neither read nor write; in one district with a potentially literate population of 1,183 there were 605 readers, 369 writers but 654 could not read or write. The committee that had organized the survey had hoped to prove Lord Ashley's statement to be incorrect, the results of the survey only confirmed the accuracy of his comment.¹ There was widespread illiteracy in Burslem.

Day-Schools

The Established Church provided the largest number of day-schools. They were all National Schools connected with and near to each church. St. John's National was founded in 1817 and was a large, forbidding building by the parish church. It had three departments, boys, girls and infants, each on a separate floor. It was designed to accommodate 600 children, though in 1851 the average daily attendance was only 173.

St. Paul's parish had a National School for Dalehall near the church, it had another school for the Sytch area. Both were affected by financial problems in the 1840s and educational standards were low. There was also considerable apathy towards the provision of education. In 1847 the incumbent, the Rev. P. B. Ellis tried to organize a scheme for the free education of destitute and neglected children, having found in a survey that there were 1,785 such children under the age of ten years in the parish. He set up a committee with a subscription list of

1. Appendix B p 580, Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education Vol. 2

£40, but it was not long before committee meetings were not attended, subscriptions were in arrears and debts were incurred. In 1850 the mistress of the infant school that had been established sued Ellis for the arrears of her salary. At a special meeting called by Ellis to settle all the outstanding affairs only one other person attended. The court case went ahead and the school mistress was awarded her £4-14-4 (£4.71½) arrears plus costs. So a scheme for free schooling collapsed through lack of interest.¹ Dalehall had boys and girls departments, the Sytch school had a boys and an infants department.

Cobridge National occupied the upper floor of the former Cobridge Free School of 1766. In 1841 a Mr. Goodfellow had run the Cobridge Free School as a private enterprise, using the fees of some twenty pupils as his income.² By 1851 the National School was using the building, while the ground floor had been divided into three dwellings. The new Local Board of Health declared these to be unfit for human habitation and after the tenants had moved out the ground floor was converted for the Cobridge fire engine.³ In 1856 the incumbent of Christ Church, the Rev. W. D. Lamb decided that proper school-rooms were needed. Land near the church was purchased and the buildings were completed in a matter of months, being opened at the end of October 1856. The cost of £742-10-0 (£742.50) was raised locally by subscription and a bazaar; they did not apply for a building grant from the government. The new school was designed for 400 children and in 1859 220 children were registered.⁴

The organisation of schooling in Sneyd parish was somewhat obscure. There was no permanent church until 1852, but in 1851 a school called Sneyd Green National was listed though Sneyd Green was not

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1. Staffordshire Advertiser 31 August 1850.
 2. Children's Employment Commission Interviews No 230 and 231
 3. Staffordshire Advertiser 8 March 1851, 3 January 1852
 4. Staffordshire Advertiser 1 November 1856.

was not the same place as Sneyd. In 1858 the incumbent, the Rev. S. Sandberg, reported that there was a day-school, a Sunday-school and a night-school in the parish, held in temporary accommodation. Sandberg was paying the expenses of the school out of his stipend and was owed nearly £60 over the previous two years. He threatened the closure of the schools unless financial assistance was forthcoming. In 1859 there were 150 children on the books.² A new building was provided in 1867 for boys and for a combined girls and infants department.³

A Wesleyan Methodist School had been in existence in Bruslem since 1814. By 1841 there was a boys' school and an infants' school, which had been started at the end of 1840, but there was no girls' school. In 1850 the old building was considered structurally unsafe and lacking in ventilation, so a large new school was opened in March 1851. A mixed boys and girls department was organised, with a separate infants department and the school soon established a reputation for high standards and had a large attendance.⁴

The Roman Catholics had provided a school since 1821 or 1822, but by 1841, this was in a parlous financial state, the boys' master had left because of the lack of funds and consequent lack of salary. The mistress was running the whole school, but although she had 88 children on the books there were only 24 in regular attendance, many of whom were unable to pay their 2d fees, so her salary only averaged £10 a year and she had to take in needlework to live.⁵ The priest from 1851 to 1873, the Rev. Thomas Leith, made considerable efforts to improve the situation. In 1852 he appointed a master at £50 p.a. and a mistress at

1. White's Directory 1851

2. Staffordshire Advertiser 11 December 1858

3. Kelly's Directory 1884

4. Children's Employment Commission Interviews No 222 and 224

5. Children's Employment Commission Interviews No 219

£35 p.a. With the opening of a school in Hanley in 1859 the number of pupils halved and only the mistress remained in charge of a combined school. In 1864 there were 120 regular pupils and in February 1865 an infants' school, called St. Mary's Hope, was started in Nile Street and continued until about 1874. The experiment of a select school for better class children lasted only nine months in 1865, at the rate of 10s 6d (52½p) a quarter.¹

All the foregoing schools were connected with a specific religious denomination. There were other schools in the town. A Ragged School was in existence in 1850 with 280 Scholars at Bourne's Bank, and not of any particular religious denomination it was aided by special sermons and collections held by the Wesleyan Methodists.² In 1866 there were two such schools, one was held in the old Free School buildings on Liverpool Road and the other was in Sylvester Square. Classes were held on Sundays only and the average attendance was bout 200.³ In 1869 the Baptist chapel on High Street was purchased by the Ragged School Committee and used that building as its permanent base from then on,⁴ in 1871 there were classes every Sunday, a writing class on two nights a week and a Band of Hope meeting on Wednesday evenings, there was also a clothing fund for the children.⁵

To serve the children who lived on the Granville housing estate in Cobridge a school was opened in 1854 and had boys, girls and infants departments. It was owned by the Shelton Iron, Steel and Coal Company of Earl Granville and was run on similar lines to the other schools.⁶

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1. M. Greenslade A brief History of the Catholic Chruch in Stoke-on-Trent
 2. Staffordshire Advertiser 26 October 1850
 3. Staffordshire Advertiser 22 September 1866
 4. Staffordshire Advertiser 13 March 1869, 22 May 1869
 5. Staffordshire Advertiser 4 November 1871
 6. Kelly's Directory 1884

The oldest school in Burslem, the Burslem Free School, had subsided into near extinction by 1850. Established in 1749 it had a very small endowment of about 27 acres at Ipstones Edge with a rental of £22-10 (£22.50). Thirty poor boys and ten girls were to be taught reading, writing and casting accounts. In 1823 the trust was re-established with new trustees, the school buildings and the farm buildings were in such poor condition that the income had to be used for repairs. A new school building was erected on Moorland Road the old school-house being let, but until the debt on the buildings was discharged the trustees could only afford to pay a master £10 a year. This meant that the number of children that were educated without payment of fees was much restricted as the master had to take fee-paying pupils to provide the remainder of his income. Evidence to the Children's Employment Commission was given by J. W. Powell the master of the school since 1838.¹ Powell had taken over the mastership of the school from his father when he was about eighteen years old and his own education had been received from his father and from the Baptist minister of Hanley. He was paid £10-10 (£10.50) from the endowment so he only took twelve boys free, a further twenty paid fees which raised his salary to £25 a year at the most. Powell resigned in 1845 and the school was continued by the secretary to the trustees, the Rev. P. B. Ellis. In 1849 the rooms on Moorland road became unusable because of mining operations and teaching was carried on in the original building for a while, in 1851 there were 25 scholars. of whom fourteen were instructed gratuitously in English.² By 1855 Ellis had moved the school to Longport Parsonage, re-named it the Burslem School and charged £1-10 (£1.05) a quarter for ordinary English education, 10s 6d (52½p) for pupils under ten years of age, and £2-2-0 (£2.10) for classics and mathematics.³ The Education of poor children seems to have been abandoned, in 1858 J. W. Powell said:

1. CEC Interview No 223

3. Staffordshire Advertiser 14 July 1855

2. Whites Directory 1851 P273

I have never heard the name of any "poor" child educated in this school since I resigned the mastership, nor have I been able to meet with anyone who has.¹

In September 1857 the Burslem Grammar School was opened in the repaired premises on Liverpool road. The master was a Scripture Reader at St. Paul's and the education had a mathematical and commercial bias, the elementary course of instruction cost 10s 6d a quarter, a mathematical course, with book-keeping cost 15s (75p) a quarter. The education was free to 'Foundation Scholars'.² How long this school survived was not known.

Dissatisfied with the state of the Burslem Free School John Ward, Solicitor and local historian, entered into a lengthy correspondence with the Charity Commissioners in 1856 and prepared a list of new trustees. In 1858 a public meeting was held and the list approved for submission to the County Court.³ The Rev. P. B. Ellis, who was not on the list, took exception to the proceedings and the suggestion that the school was defunct. He also tried to prove that it was a church charity which should be administered by churchmen.⁴ The reporter for the Staffordshire Advertiser rebutted the accusations of incorrect reporting and mis-statements made by Ellis⁵ and the matter rested until May 1859 when the County Court judge decided that nothing in the circumstances of the charity required him to follow the judgments of the Court of Chancery in refusing to appoint any but Church of England members.⁶ However most of the new trustees were members of the Church of England, William Davenport, George Baker and Daniel Ball were the only survivors of the 1823 list of trustees and they were re-appointed together with the Rector of

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1. Staffordshire Advertiser 27 November 1858
 2. Staffordshire Advertiser 6 September 1857
 3. Staffordshire Advertiser 13 November 1858
 4. Staffordshire Advertiser 13 November 1858
 5. The reporter was J. W. Powell, Staffordshire Advertiser 20 November 1858
 6. Staffordshire Advertiser 14 May 1859

Burslem, the Rev. Dr. Armstrong, and his successors; Isaac Hitchen, the chief Bailiff; John Ward; Thomas Whittingham; Richard Boughton; and the Rev. P. B. Ellis and his successors; plus three others. The final list of trustees had fifteen names, the foregoing with E. T. W. Wood; G. F. Bowers; W. E. Twigg; James Macintyre; Richard Sefton; and William Ford.¹ Of the new trustees, only Macintyre, Ford and possibly Sefton were non-conformists.

The new trustees seemed to have raised a considerable sum by 1864 when they subscribed £800 to the Wedgwood Institute in return for accommodation with heating, lighting and maintenance. The Free School trustees would control the curriculum, the nomination of pupils and the appointment of masters. The Wedgwood Institute committee also offered free elementary art teaching to the Free School pupils. A suggestion that the school-master should also be the librarian in the Institute Library was not approved of by the Charity Commissioners because it involved two separate bodies in appointment, removal and remuneration, but they approved of the rest of the scheme. In 1868 the Wedgwood Institute committee wanted the Free School trustees to provide a scientific and technical education rather than a primary education.² However with the Endowed School Act of 1869 the situation changed and in 1872 a new scheme of management was issued by the Endowed School Commissioners. The new Burslem Endowed School was to be a day school taking about 100 boys between the ages of seven and fifteen, with tuition fees of between £3 and £5 a year, the governors could provide free places which could be offered in competition to children at elementary schools in the parish of Burslem and the scheme could be

1. George Griffith Free Schools and Endowments of Staffordshire P507-511
2. Wedgwood Institute Minutes - 5 April 1864, 25 August 1864, 14 Oct. 1868

extended to girls when the governors thought it expedient.¹ The endowment was £900 with the £22-10-0 from the farm at Ipstones and £6-9-5 (£6.47) from consols. At the beginning of 1873 the governors took possession of accommodation in the Wedgwood Institute and the future of the school seemed fairly secure.

There were a number of private schools in Burslem ranging from the simple dame school as remembered by the 'Old Potter' to the more superior girls' boarding school at Bleak Hill House, on Waterloo road, of Miss Margaret Cotton. In the 1851 directory eleven private schools were listed, five run by women and six by men. In 1864 ten private schools were listed, but three years later there were six, and in 1870 there were seven but by 1875 there were only three. Few of these schools were long-lasting. Margaret Cotton's school lasted until her death in 1874 when it was continued into 1875 by Miss Emily Cotton though it did not last to 1879. Emily Farmer's school in Newport Street lasted **from** at least 1867 to 1879, Edward Ellison also ran a school from 1864 **to** 1879. Others did not survive long, in July 1860 this announcement appeared:

"Miss Walker begs to inform her friends and the public generally that she intends commencing a school for young ladies on July 23rd. When she respectfully solicits a share of their patronage and support.
8 Newport Road."²

Miss Walker had formerly run a 'Young Ladies Boarding and Day School' with Mrs. Walker at Bradwell House in the healthiest part of the Potteries offering music, dancing and French with references from clergyman. Miss Walker is not listed in the 1864 directory, but in 1867, 8 Newport Road was occupied by Miss Emily Farmer's school. Little was known of these schools, in 1855 Miss Cotton advertised:

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1. Keates Directory 1875
 2. Staffordshire Advertiser 7 July 1860

"Miss Cotton intends (With God's leave) to recommence the duties of her school, in which a pious well-educated Young Lady is required to assist in instructing the junior pupils."¹

which suggests that her school laid store by religious principles. A Mrs. Daniel who ran a similar school, first at 166 Waterloo Road and later at 5 Newport Street gave private lessons in French and drawing and advertised herself as the authoress of The Sisters a narrative founded on fact which she offered to forward per post on receipt of thirteen postage stamps.² These young ladies' schools were probably used by the daughters of tradesmen and professional men in the Potteries.

Curriculum varied from school to school, St. John's National Infants department taught reading, spelling, sewing and knitting and gave exercises in multiplication to children who ranged in age from eighteen months to eight years, the girls' department with an age range from five to eleven years also taught writing, marking and arithmetic. The boys' school taught reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic to boys of four to eleven years. There was a strongly religious bias to the reading books, they used the Scriptures, Abridgments of the Bible, Miracles and the History of our Saviour. The effectiveness of the teaching is doubtful because so many of the working children interviewed for the Children's Employment Commission who had attended school reported being unable to read or write. In 1845 Her Majesty's Inspector examined 69 boys and six girls at St. John's but found only 24 boys and 2 girls able to read simple narrative and only six boys and one girl able to read with ease. That was the total accomplishment of the girls, but 33 boys could write on paper and 36 coped with the first four rules of arithmetic and eleven with proportion and higher rules, though none could manage compound rules or mental arithmetic. The Inspector reported:

1. Staffordshire Advertiser 14 July 1855

2. Staffordshire Advertiser 10 January 1857

In the first class of this school, five or six children have been taught, with considerable care, geography, English grammar, etymology, and the history of England, since the period of my last inspection, when I reported unfavourably of this school. I wish I could now report that I have found it materially improved in other respects. It is most desirable that a thoroughly efficient elementary school be maintained in this town.¹

Matters were no better at St. Paul's National and the Sytch School. In 1845 the Inspector found that

"The boys have been taught to read (mechanically), to work sums and to write well. I found them entirely ignorant as to everything else."²

The Wesleyan school was much better organised, especially after the new building was opened and under Henry Wilkinson senior and Mrs. Wilkinson the children were taught arithmetic, grammar, etymology, geography, history, chronology and mathematics and did exercises under Sgt. Glass; in 1852 money was raised to provide a gymnastic pole for the girls. By 1857 there were 200 boys and girls under Mr. H. Wilkinson junior and Mrs. Wilkinson with six pupil teachers; there were 100 children in the infants department which had started in the autumn of 1853 under Miss Neild and several assistants. Children were entered for drawing examinations at the Hanley School of Art and in 1856 out of eleven entrants, nine had won prizes and in the same year all the pupil teachers had gained Queen's Scholarships. In 1860 there was an average daily attendance of more than 300 children and the Wesleyan Methodists were acknowledged by the Rev. P. B. Ellis to be the most earnest and successful educationists amongst us.

The children were organized into classes in single large school-rooms. If the school was large enough the master or mistress was assisted by pupil teachers, if not then older children assisted the

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1. Minutes of the Committee in Council on Education 1845 vol. I p284
 2. Minutes of the Committee in Council on Education 1845 vol. I p.287

younger children but this was of little educational value as the older children were fairly ignorant themselves.

Financing these schools was a major problem, income came from the school pence of 2d or 3d a week charged to children, annual sermons were preached in aid of the schools, the collection going to school funds and there were subscriptions in aid of the schools. The main expense was the salaries of the teachers, minor expenses were fuel for heating, books, equipment and maintenance of the building. In 1844 the financial situation of St. Paul's National was:

Income:		Expenditure:	
Fees	£10	Master	£60
Annual collections	£20	Mistress	£ 4
	—	Repairs,	
	£30	furniture,	
	—	apparatus	£20
		Fuel	£ 5
			—
			£85
			—

This left a deficit of nearly £60 so it is hardly surprising that the Inspector found the school in " a deplorable state "¹. The school fees, although so small, were often too much for the parents, especially when trade was bad. Inadequate clothing was another reason for children staying away from school, St. Paul's National clothed 40 boys and 40 girls from voluntary subscriptions. The establishment of grants for schools after the Newcastle Commission of 1861 eased the situation considerably though the visit of the Inspector was cause for greater worry because of his power to alter the grant according to the efficiency of the school. The value of the government grant was shown in the 1868 finances of the Roman Catholic school, Cobridge:

1. Committee of Council on Education, Minutes 1844-45 Vol II p496

Income:

Government Grant	£50
Fees	£47
Subscriptions	£12-£17
	<hr/>
	£109-£114

Expenditure:

School mistress	£52
Her assistants	£15
Requisites	£12
Rental of	
Infants Building	£ 7
	<hr/>
	£86

The school would have had a deficit of £22 to £27 without the grant and its future would have accordingly been in doubt¹.

Much of the quality of a school depended on the teacher. Some of the teachers were well trained and experienced, some were not. The sub-commissioner for the Children's Employment Commission asked the teachers about their training.² The master of St. John's National Boys' School had been an assistant at another National school, the mistress of the Girls' school had trained at the Central Normal School, Westminster, the Infants' teacher had spent four years as an assistant at the school but had not received any training. At St. Paul's National the master had been at the National School, Newcastle-Under-Lyme though whether as teacher or pupil is not clear from his evidence - " I received instructions to qualify me for the appointment " which does not explain the matter. At the Wesleyan school the master, Edward Shelley, had been educated at the Borough Road Normal School, and had then taught for four years in Northamptonshire, the mistress of the infants' department had been an assistant in Nottingham prior to her Burslem job. The system of training teachers remained the same throughout the period, they began as pupil teachers at about the age of thirteen or fourteen and stayed for four or five years, both teaching and receiving instruction from the master and mistress. They then sat the examinations for a Queen's Scholarship to a training college, after qualifying they became certificated teachers, the certificate being classified. Such a qualified teacher could find

1. M. Greenslade - A Brief History of the Catholic Church in Stoke-on-Trent.
 2. C E C Interviews No 219, 221, 222, 223, 224, 227, 228

him or herself in sole charge of a school immediately on leaving college. This was what happened at Sneyd National in the Girls and Mixed Infants Department when between 1868 and 1876 there were four different mistresses, Sarah M. Cooper was straight from Derby Training College and stayed from January 1868 to September 1869; I. S. Hawkes stayed for three months and in January 1870 Elizabeth Brown from the Whitelands Training Institution took over; she did not receive very good reports from the Inspector, in 1871 he reported:

"The Girls are in good order but have not passed a creditable examination the number of failures having very considerable in spelling and Arithmetic. The reading also might improve.

A deduction will be made next year from the Mixed School under Article 32(b) unless a more satisfactory report be received from Her Majesty's Inspector.

The issue of Miss Brown's Certificate is deferred for a more satisfactory report on the School.¹

Unfortunately for the school and for Miss Brown there was no improvement after the 1872 report was received Miss Brown resigned and left at Christmas 1872. The Inspector had found that in the Girls' Mixed School:

"The spelling generally and the arithmetic in the first class are still very weak points, but on the whole there is a slight improvement in the per-centage of passes compared with last year's results. The children under seven years of age have, however, been much neglected. The children between six and seven who can do first standard work is quite the exception. The Discipline is good. The Registers in the morning as well as the afternoon must invariably be closed before the commencement of the two hours required to constitute attendance.

My Lords have ordered a reduction of one-tenth from the Grant to the Boys School for general inefficiency and of one-tenth for the Girls School for the faulty instruction of the infants.

A separate Infants School is much needed.

The issue of a Certificate to the teachers is deferred till better results be obtained.²

Miss Brown's successor was also from the Whitelands College, Chelsea which she had attended from 1871 to 1872.

Miss Alice A. Bradbury stayed for three years until she was appointed the mistress in charge of the girls at North Road Board School in Burslem.

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1. Sneyd National School Log Book Jan 1868 - July 1907 between 2 and 8 June 1871
 2. Sneyd National School Log Book Jan 1868 - July 1905

However, inexperienced and partly trained teachers had many problems with which to contend. Uncertain attendance by the children was a major problem. The school mistresses at Sneyd found there were many excuses for non-attendance. Trade could be bad so the parents could not afford to send the children to school, girls frequently stayed at home on Monday mornings, which was market day; wash day at home also meant that the girls stayed away from school and many girls helped their mothers with the housework on Fridays. Wakes week meant that there was much absence the week before because families were preparing for the holiday, the school was closed during Wakes week but attendance was low in the week or so following the holiday because the parents did not have any money left for the school fees, Wakes weeks in the Potteries meant absenteeism. An important reason for non-attendance was sickness: whooping cough and scarlet fever kept many children away from school for long periods and not infrequently caused their deaths. As Sneyd school also formed the parish rooms the school was sometimes closed because of church functions, such as bazaars and teas. The state of the weather affected attendance, wet days saw lower attendance figures. There were other counter attractions to school, the visit of a circus or of a managerie or a procession drew boys away from St. John's. There were many children who did not attend school at all, the incumbent of Sneyd pointed out that such children "were found by dozens in the streets, unoccupied and exposed to every temptation of vice."¹

Sunday schools were expected to fill the gaps in the education of children who started work at the age of eight. The largest Sunday school was that known as the Burslem Sunday School at Hill Top. Established as a breakaway group from the Wesleyan Methodists over their desire to

1. Staffordshire Advertiser 11 December 1858

teach writing on Sundays they had built a large chapel in a grand style. In 1841 93 teachers taught 539 boys, 107 teachers taught 728 girls and there was a class of 30 adults. The classes lasted all day from 10.30 a.m. to 12 noon, and from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. The Lancastrian method of instruction was employed. Funds for books and heating and the capital expenditure on the building had to be raised by annual collections and voluntary contributions.¹ In 1850 there were 1094 scholars with 139 teachers and £75 was raised; in 1856 there were 1227 scholars and £81 was raised; in 1860 there were 1075 scholars and about £90 was contributed. The church was a member of the Wesleyan Association from 1848 to 1857, then it became part of the United Methodist Free Churches.²

The Wesleyan Methodists had several Sunday schools financed in the same way; at Swan Bank, the mother church of the Burslem circuit, there were in 1841 207 boys with 35 teachers and 210 girls with 31 teachers. At Hot Lane there were 43 boys with eight teachers and 40 girls six teachers. At Dalehall there were 40 boys with five teachers and 32 girls with five teachers. The basis of the teaching was religious, there was no instruction in writing, those who wished to learn to write had to wait until Monday evening when free lessons were given to about 100 students.³

The New Connexion Methodists also ran Sunday schools. At Bethel there were 200 boys and 200 girls on the books with 30 male and 25 female teachers, there were other schools at Cobridge, Dalehall and Smallthorn. They taught reading for which they used the Bible, Testament and religious books as texts, but unlike the Wesleyans they did teach writing and spelling. The children had lessons from 9 a.m. until 10.30 a.m.

1. C E C Interview No 218

2. Staffordshire Advertiser 14 November 1857

3. C E C Interview No 220

when they attended morning service and again from 1 p.m. until 2.30 p.m. when they attended the afternoon service.¹

The Independent chapel had 21 boys and 29 girls attending, rather than just on the books, with eight teachers to each group. The pattern was similar, with the children attending classes, then the morning service, returning after lunch for more classes and the afternoon service. The method used in 1841 consisted of questions and answers with explanations using religious texts to teach reading and spelling, but not writing. Gratuitous writing lessons were given on Monday evenings.²

The church Sunday School of St. Paul's was organised on similar lines, the 175 girls with 20 teachers and 124 boys with 23 teachers met at 9 a.m., then at 10.30 a.m. they attended the morning service. The classes met again at 1 p.m. and the older children went to the afternoon service at 3 p.m., the younger children going home. The instruction had a strict religious foundation, the only books used were the Bible, Testament and Church Catechism and School-Society books. No writing was taught, lessons being given on Monday night, free.³

The Sunday schools, while acknowledging the lack of education received by the children, could not do a great deal to fill the gap. Although many more children attended Sunday-school than attended day school there were still children who did not attend a Sunday-school, often from lack of adequate clothing. The Sunday Schools claimed to teach reading and spelling and give religious instruction, but in 1866 a survey was carried out by factory surgeons of the children who applied for a certificate of fitness for employment and among the topics surveyed was the ability of the child in reading, writing and arithmetic and of attendance at Sunday-school. The certifying factory

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1. C E C Interview No 235
 2. C E C Interview No 236
 3. C E C Interview No 225

surgeon for Burslem, Joseph Walker, having examined some 1000 children and young persons came to the conclusion that

no child learns to read at a Sunday school, many doubtless, who attend Sunday school can read, but these have had the additional advantage of home-training or day-school instruction. The poor child who is left to Sunday school instruction alone, never gets beyond the spelling book. The almost total ignorance of the children . . . respecting the Ten Commandments astonished me; not more than one in about thirty appearing to comprehend what was meant by that term, and the ignorance in biblical knowledge, by those professing to be in the Bible and Testament class, is most deplorable.

By 1865 the Factory Inspector thought that there was too much reliance on the Sunday Schools which dated from a period when it was the only schooling but the number of day schools and their capacity had increased by 1865. He did not think that night schools were of much use to working children who were generally too fatigued to benefit.

Legislation affecting education was limited in extent. Since 1833 grants had been available for the construction of new school buildings, the Wesleyan School had received £441 for their new day and Sunday school building in 1850, but the new Cobridge National School had raised sufficient funds without recourse to a government grant. St. Paul's National School received £111-11s in 1841. By 1879 St. Paul's had received a further grant of £359-9-6 (£359.47½) and Sneyd National had received (£342.50) £342-10-0. The use of such government grants meant that the schools were open to Her Majesty's Inspectors. After the Newcastle Commission of 1861 annual grants were given to the schools, but these were based on the payment by results system and the Inspector became a much more powerful figure. He tested the children on his annual visit and it was as the result of this that the grant for the next year was fixed, poor results could mean a cut in the grant

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1. Report of the Inspectors of Factories for the half-year ending 31 October 1866 p107

and the example of the mistress at Sneyd National has already been mentioned. After a cut of two-tenths in the grant at St. John's National Boys school the master Mr. Dutton left, this was on the 17 July 1868.¹

The Factory Act Extension Act of 1864 had a considerable effect on schools and education from the beginning of 1865 when it came into effect. The 1864 Act extended legislation already applicable to the textile industry to the pottery industry. The Act meant that children under eight years of age could no longer go to work and children of eight to thirteen years of age could work part-time provided they attended school half-time, children or rather young persons over the age of thirteen could work full-time. Children who did not work could still roam the streets uneducated, but children who worked half-time had to attend school and their parent could be prosecuted for 'neglecting to cause their children to attend school'.²

All the day-schools were faced with an influx of these half-timers, most of whom had limited attainments and who created new problems for the school in the afternoon, and although the Factory Inspector thought that a change was as good as a rest, many would have been too tired to learn a great deal, the mixture of half and full-timers at school made lesson planning more difficult for the teacher, because anything taught in the morning would have to be repeated in the afternoon for the benefit of the half-timers. There were other problems at the beginning, at first the working children came in their work clothes which tended to be covered in clay, later they were persuaded to change their clothes for school and to wash their hands. The state of these children sometimes drove away the children of tradesmen, who were full-timers, though they returned after a while. The half-timers were more likely to use foul language and to fight, they were also less likely to join in games

1. St John's Boys School Log Book Nov. 1862 - Oct. 1903 17 July 1868

2. Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the half year ending 30 April 1865.

in the playground, at first they used to stand, with their hands behind them, watching the others play, or they spent the time sitting or lying about. The apathy did change and later they did join the game energetically.¹

The educational condition of the half-timers taken into the schools on 2 January 1865 was recorded.²

	Cobridge National Boys/Girls		Cobridge R.C. Boys/Girls		Burslem National Boys/Girls		Wesleyan Boys/Girls	
Children	21	2	17	5	43	12	76	36
Knows Nothing	3	-	2	-	10	2	11	8
Knows Alphabet	4	1	-	-	17	3	23	15
Reads Syllables	6	-	13	3	9	-	14	3
Reads	6	1	-	-	7	3	25	10
Reads Well	2	-	2	2	-	4	3	-
Writes	14	-	-	-	11	6	13	6
Arithmetic Adds	4	1	1	1	1	2	3	4
Subtracts	2	-	-	-	4	4	3	3
Multiplies	-	-	1	1	1	-	3	-
Divides	3	-	-	-	4	1	7	-
Knits	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	24
Sews	-	-	-	1	-	9	-	28

1. Report of the Inspector of Factories for the half-year ending 31 Oct. 1865 pl20-126 & individual reports by teachers.
2. Reports of the Inspector of Factories for the half-year ending 31 Oct. 1864 pl15

The Act did not fully come into force until 1867, in 1865 there were 11,625 half-timers in the Potteries, in 1867 there were 3,000 such children, most of whom had not received any education before. In 1865 the Factory Inspector assessed the first year of operation of the Act and considered the effect on the children:

Between 1864 and 1865 the Pottery children as a class are physically, morally and intellectually better; less precocious and more childlike; less insubordinate and more tractable; more cleanly in their habits, and therefore more likely to be useful examples to those, both around them and at home, possessing there an influence which may perhaps make itself felt, when works would fail. And I trust, we may also regard the evidence thus adduced, as showing most distinctly many valuable improvements of a relative character. The inspiring influence for example, which a change of occupation has upon the mind; that this change is in fact rest; that but for this rest; the physical powers of the juvenile workers must be seriously abraded; and that it may as well be accompanied by education as by unprofitable idleness.¹

Among other improvements noted by the Factory Inspector:

It has safely and usefully placed upwards of 1,600 children, most of them never at a day school before, in some of the best schools in the kingdom, with a moral and intellectual benefit of which we cannot estimate the value; and it is reducing gradually, by the gentlest measures, the insubordination of uncontrolled power to the discipline of obedience.²

In the schools there was a large increase in the number of pupils, at St. John's National in 1872 there was desk accommodation for 63 boys and an average attendance of 137 boys.³ New desks were provided but the Rector, the Rev. A. Watton, thought that the extra trouble caused by the half-timers meant that the fees should be increased. This was done in April 1873, half-timers paid 3d the full-timers in the three last classes paid 4d and the others 6d. There were over 200 boys present and there was only one objection to the new rates.⁴ The master at St. John's found that the half-timers who were due to be examined left as soon as they were old enough to work full-time.⁵ The mistress at Sneyd National found

1. Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the half year ending 31 Oct. 1865 p 126

2. Reports of the Inspectors of Factories . . . 31 Oct. 1865 p.12

3. St John's Boy's School log Book Nov. 1862 - Oct. 1903 - Report of HMI, May 1872.

4. St. John's Boys School Log Book Nov. 1862 - Oct. 1903, 4 April 1873

5. St John's Boys School Log Book 6 March 1874.

on testing her third class in arithmetic that the half-timers were behind the other children.¹ Half-time education was not the whole answer for working children but it was better than no education at all, which had been the case before.

With more older children attending school the curriculum was widened, the master at St. John's National Boy's School gave lessons on Whale-fishing, he introduced geography in 1871, the Discovery of America was another topic. The boys' school had a gymnasium and the boys played cricket and prison-bars, (a team game of chase and catch). A Garibaldi Rifle Corps was organised and drilled by the Rector, the Rev. Dr. Armstrong, who was a keen supporter of the rifle volunteer movement; later a drum and fife band was organised. A master from Hanley School of Art taught for a time until 1863. An attempt to give drawing lessons to girls was not successful as the parents of the girls said they would rather the girls opt to their other lessons. The girls at Sneyd National had a more restricted curriculum and although both St. John's and Sneyd were church schools there was a much stronger church influence at Sneyd where either the incumbent or the curate took scripture and catechism lessons, and during Lent the children went to church each Wednesday. Other lessons for the girls and infants consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic, singing, knitting and needlework, physical exercise was confined to drill and marching, often done when the classrooms needed ventilation; or when wet weather made outside play impossible. The children might occasionally have a visitor, such as the gentleman who came to exhibit Chinese curiosities.²

The teachers had to teach the full-timers and the half-timers and they had to teach the monitors and pupil teachers. These pupil teachers

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1. Sneyd National School Log Book 2 November 1868
 2. Sneyd National School Log Book 12 March 1869

had to take charge of classes and receive instructions. At St. John's the master took his pupil teachers at 8 a.m. or 8.30 a.m., the pupil teachers were not so keen and did not always arrive for these early classes. They sat Diocesan Examinations and the scholarship examination for training college. Not all the pupil teachers were quite suited to the work. In July 1872 a boy called William Lowcock was taken on as a pupil teacher, in February 1873 he passed the Diocesan examination, then in February he ran away from home and turned up in Liverpool; he ran away again in June, re-appearing three days later. In October a mother complained that he had struck her son on the head with a slate. This brought matter to a head,

'As I had had so many complaints of the same character concerning Lowcock and as I had so many times warned him I spoke to the Rector who called a committee meeting to enquire into the matter.'

At the meeting it was decided to allow Lowcock to continue to attend school but he was 'advised' as to his future conduct.¹ Another pupil teacher at St. John's, Samuel Royde, became a pupil teacher in 1868, and in 1872 he gained a second class scholarship at Cheltenham Training College, he was the headmaster of the school by 1884 and was still head in 1910. Some of the pupil teachers were good, some were not and the master or mistress found them a mixed blessing, without them they could not have coped with the teaching, but with them they found that sometimes the pupil teacher could not control a class, or that they were too familiar with the children. For the pupil teachers themselves it was a way of acquiring a more advanced education than they would otherwise have received.

1. St John's Boys School Log Book Nov 1862-Oct 1903, 9 Oct 1874

The number of children receiving education had increased in this period, especially after the Factory Act came into force. The quality of their education may also have improved. The Children's Employment Commission of 1842, in its account of schools in Burslem showed that the church schools used the Madras system of Andrew Bell and the non-conformist schools used the system of Joseph Lancaster. Both systems used monitors to teach the children what they themselves had been taught by the teacher. It enabled one trained teacher to control a very large number of children and given the shortage of trained teachers and the schools who could only afford one teacher it was a not unreasonable solution to the task of educating, in some degree, large numbers of children. However it did not go uncriticised. In an open letter to the Children's Employment Commission, 'a Clergyman' of Burslem almost certainly the Rev. P. B. Ellis, cited the faults of the monitorial system and suggested a remedy namely government control of education¹. Not only day schools but Sunday schools were criticised.

The system of education in the dissenting schools I do not precisely understand and therefore shall for bear to notice; that of the Church is Dr. Bell's which I believe to be essentially and radically bad. Its principal defects I conceive to be these: first, the assembling of too great a number of children under one teacher; second, the employment of monitors who generally are unfit either to teach or to rule; third, the waste of time in matters of mere parade and show; fourth, the want of sufficient grammatical instruction.

Ellis thought that one of the reasons for the lack of popularity of the church schools was their use of monitors.

'Of whom are these monitors formed? - of children who are themselves very partially taught, who are thus called on to give up to the teaching of others a great portion, almost the whole, of that already insufficient time allowed to themselves for learning, and for which their parent pay with a view to their receiving not imparting instruction;

1. C E C Item No 238

'and who, I will add, do not possess either the competency to teach or the judgment to rule a class of younger children. The parents are strongly opposed to this system, and there is so much reason in their objections, that nothing can reconcile them to it, and until the system plan of teaching by monitors is given up the schools of the church must be and will be alike unpopular and inefficient.'

Ellis did not just criticise, he did have a scheme for a better system of education, which was to teach children:

'those things which will be really useful to them in after life, and that in a simple, concise and popular method.'

Ellis's answer to the problem of the provision of education was not perhaps the conventional answer of a Tory and a Churchman, but it was an answer that foreshadowed the Newcastle Commission of 1862 to a remarkable extent:

'Let the government take the education of the country under its own control; let it build or aid in building schools of moderate size; let it grant the salaries of teachers or aid thereto in proportion to the proficiency of the scholars, fourthly let it insist on every child being taught to read and write and attend some Sabbath school; more might be suggested, but these I think would fully meet the case. The government ought to take the education of the country under its own control; no other power is equal to so great a work. I do not think it ought to prescribe any course of religious instruction but this much it ought to do. It might call on the different religious sections to nominate inspectors to be appointed by the government for the inspection once a quarter of the schools in each section (say of the Church, Wesleyan, British and Foreign School Societies); a scale of proficiency in temporal education might be laid down and a fixed sum given to the teachers for every child that passed inspection by that scale. Here would be no interference with the religious prejudices of any party for each of the schools might have its peculiar course of religious instruction under its own minister, and an inspector approved by its own authorities; whilst the master's salary depended in measure on the number and proficiency of his scholars he would be stirred up by the powerful incentive of pecuniary interest to diligence both in procuring and instructing pupils. With respect to the children's attendance, I think that the government have a right to require the parents shall qualify their children to be loyal, peaceable, moral and useful subjects; and it ought not to be tolerated that the education of children and all the benefits flowing to the State from a well-educated population should be

1. Rev. P. B. Ellis's emphasis.

sacrificed to the avarice of parents - a certain degree of education ought to be insisted upon; how this should be done is not for me to say. One objection, however, to all this may be urged; it may be asked where is the money to come from to defray all the expense of this, but I should suppose this would be no great obstacle to so great a matter. A school of 100 children of 3d per week would furnish a very good salary, a small allowance would suffice for each on passing inspection, say 1s or 6d and paupers might be educated at the expense of the parish. In short, the sum of my opinion is that the government ought to take prompt and efficient measures for the extending useful temporal education, leaving the religious part, as they very safely may, in the hands in which it rests at present, requiring nothing pro or con upon that subject and not interfering with even the management of the schools further than by giving or withholding premiums for proficiency. Let me add one word respecting infant schools in manufacturing districts, where the children go early to work; we cannot begin too soon to educate, and infant schools are here absolutely necessary.

Ellis was not just a theorist, he was involved in the running of two schools, one a free school for pauper children which failed, the other a form of the Burslem Free School, though he charged fees, which lasted about twelve years.¹ Ellis criticised the existing teaching methods and exposed their main failings, but as most of the school buildings provided a single large room for the school children and there was only one qualified teacher for up to 200 pupils it would be a long time before each class could be in a separate room with its own teacher. In 1852 one of Her Majesty's Inspectors commented after a visit to St. John's boys school that he was never more struck with the undesirableness of having classes in open squares, he also found that instruction and discipline had improved on his visit eight months earlier but it was 'still too noisy.'² However Ellis had recognised that only the government had the financial resources to provide education on the scale needed, voluntary contributions could not support schools to a satisfactory extent, he saw a combination

1. See section on the Burslem Free School in this chapter.

2. Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education 1851-52 Volume II p30;
p199

of grants based on efficiency and fees from the parents, a situation realised in the 'payment-by results' scheme. He recognised that religious bias was a likely bone of contention and proposed what he thought to be the system least likely to cause antagonism; he does not mention Roman Catholic schools mainly because he would have thought them beneath notice.¹ Ellis saw education as an important means of alleviating the ignorance and depravity of the working classes, he did not think that the condition of the children could be blamed entirely on the parents, more and better education would improve their lives.

With or without government assistance the educational facilities in Burslem in the period 1850 to 1874 were not adequate, there were children who received no schooling, there were children who received some schooling but who learnt little, any boy who wanted a higher education had to go outside the district, to Newcastle-under-Lyme or further afield to boarding schools. Burslem was notably deficient of what was called 'middle class education', not until the Endowed School opened in 1873 was there a suitable school for the sons of professional and business men. Girls were even worse off, with only the private schools in the district available. The National schools, the Wesleyan school and the Roman Catholic school took the working class children and after 1865 took the half-time children, but there were limits to the numbers they could take and with the growth in population from 19,725 in 1851 to 27,108 in 1871 (including 2,335 children between five and ten years in 1851 and 3,323 children between five and ten in 1871) it is not very surprising that a deficiency of 1,580 school places was the first task to be tackled by the Burslem School Board when it was established in 1874. The extent of government

1. Ellis was a staunch Irish protestant and local leader of the anti-papal movement of the 1850 s.

intervention over that quarter century (1850-74) increased, schools that had received building grants also received visits from the Inspector, later all the schools that received a per capita grant had a more rigorous inspection. The Factory Inspector also took an interest in education because of the half-time children. Whilst the government was unsectarian in its attitude local people were not and the particular religious affiliation of people was to have an important part in the later development of education in Burslem.

This period was the era of the School Board. The Education Act of 1870 was eventually adopted in Burslem in March 1874 and only then after pressure from the Board of Education. It lasted until the 1902 Act superseded the School Board with an Education Committee.

The delay in establishing a School Board was somewhat unexpected, the other Pottery towns were quick to set up such Boards and there was always an element of rivalry between the towns. There has been some speculation as to the reasons for the delay, one suggestion was that the widespread use of child labour meant a consequent reluctance on the part of the manufacturers to press for compulsory education of children. However the combination of Factory Acts and the Education Act did not make that much difference to the juvenile labour market, manufacturers could not employ children under eight years old, and after the 1874 Factory Act, under ten years old; children up to thirteen years, and from 1876, fourteen years could only be employed half-time. The loss was therefore of eight to ten year olds who had worked half-time and of thirteen year olds who had worked full time who had to continue with half-time work for a further year. It was unlikely that there was a large pool of potential half-timers who, until the Education Act, had been idle, neither working nor receiving education. Manufacturers' objections after the implementation of the 1864 Factory Act had achieved nothing and the situation was no different in the other Pottery towns which did establish School Boards. The idea favoured by Dewey¹ is that the non-conformists were waiting until they could be sure of receiving enough votes to ensure a majority on the

1. J A Dewey, Ph.D Thesis An Examination, the Role of Church and State in the Development of Elementary Education in North Staffordshire 1870-1903 University of Keele 1971.

Board. At a meeting of the National Education League in Burslem in May 1872 William Woodall commented that the question was often asked why Burslem did not have a School Board. He did not think it was the cost to the rates because of the enthusiasm with which the Free Libraries Act had been adopted in 1863, but his opinion was that the nonconformists were hoping for a change in the Education Act of 1870 by which the denominational aspect might be completely removed and government grants would not subsidize sectarian schools. That was one reason why Burslem was so long in setting up a School Board as they had no wish to see money from the rates go to support denominational schools. Yet it is doubtful whether they would have secured that assurance even by 1874.

Some surprise has been expressed that William Woodall had not done more. As secretary to the committee of the Wedgwood Memorial Institute he had been busily involved in the final stages of fund raising. The building was opened in April 1869 but the heavy debts were not settled until May 1871 and these were debts that Woodall, amongst others, was personally liable.² He had been elected onto the Local Board of Health in September 1868 and was chairman of the Local Board and Chief Bailiff from 1871 to 1873, as well as being the ex-officio chairman of the Wedgwood Institute committee. Woodall was therefore fully occupied in the early 1870s and was still only at the beginning of his career in public life. There was no other particularly dynamic figure in the town at that time - a new Rector had come in 1869, but he was not an outstanding man in any way and did not play the prominent role taken by Lovelace Stamer in Stoke-upon-Trent. The sole Anglican clergyman on the first School Board only arrived in Burslem in 1872 and it would have taken him some time to become established in the town. Since the Methodist ministers moved every three years they were not present long enough to

1. Staffordshire Advertiser 11 May 1872, p.6

2. Wedgwood Institute Minutes

sustain any move for a School Board. The Congregational church had seen a change of minister in 1867 and their pastor, the Rev. John Fernie, left for Natal in 1875 or 1876, so he was unlikely to be involved in a campaign for a School Board.

Burslem ratepayers were always cautious when there was any scheme mooted that would lead to increased rates. They also liked to wait and see how new ideas worked elsewhere before introducing them to Burslem, by which time there would be a more accurate idea of costings and the initial snags would have been ironed out. But three years does seem rather excessive, the long drawn out efforts to establish the Wedgwood Institute may have dampened enthusiasm for the provision of elementary education, though by 1873 the Institute was well organised and running smoothly, the Endowed School was opened at the beginning of 1873 and it was surprising that no attempt was made then to set up a School Board. A final notice was issued by the Education Department in November 1873 to comply with the Act and information on school accommodation was available and was provided for the Board when it was finally elected.¹

The ninth of March 1874 was polling day for a School Board of nine members, elected by the ratepayers. There were no restrictions on who could stand for election, though a woman did not stand in Burslem until 1898. The whole Board was re-elected on a tri-ennial basis and each voter had as many votes as there were places on the Board. The votes could be distributed as the voter wished and this cumulative system was designed to allow the representation of minorities on the Board and seems to have worked quite well.

The first election attracted a high poll but the Board had three changes of personnel before the next election; later Boards were more stable in composition. Top of the poll was W. E. Oulsnam, a local manufacturer, second was William Owen, a radical newspaper editor and supporter of the worker

1. Burslem School Board - Review of proceedings since 1874 (published 1883)

keenly interested in the industrial relations of the pottery industry. William Woodall came third, he was elected chairman of the Board and remained chairman for the next twelve years until the pressure of parliamentary work forced him to give up his School Board work, though he maintained his interest in education. There were two clergymen, the Rev. Dr. Massingham, vicar of St. Paul's and the Rev. P. J. Hendren, the Roman Catholic priest of Cobridge. The other members of the Board were William Boulton, an engineer and ironfounder; Thomas Hughes, an earthenware manufacturer; William Shirley, a commission agent and potters' materials agent, though he resigned in November 1874 and was replaced by Anthony Shaw, an earthenware manufacturer; and Harry T. Davenport, by profession a barrister, he contested two parliamentary seats in February 1874 but was unsuccessful.¹ The Board was divided five to four between the group named 'Liberal', 'progressive', 'unsectarian' 'the Bible Five' and the 'church', 'moderate' or 'denominational' group. The first group was in the majority on all Boards except that of 1895-1898. Membership of a group depended on both religious and part political affiliation, Anthony Shaw was a Wesleyan Methodist but was a Conservative and a member of the moderate group, the same applied to William Millet Edge; James Maddock was a churchman but he was a Liberal, Thomas Hulme (w) was a member of the United Methodist Free Church, though politically a Conservative but on the School Board he was an Independent-Unsectarian. However the majority of men on the School Board were either non-conformists and Liberals or churchmen and Conservatives.

The new Board spent its first few meetings setting up its organisation.

1. Burslem School Board Minutes 2 Nov. 1874

There were a number of tasks - to provide sufficient places for children between the ages of five and thirteen, to ensure that the children actually attended school, to give them a good education at an elementary level. The immediate problem of school places was tackled by renting accommodation, the school rooms of the Hill Top chapel and the Wesleyan chapel at Clarence Street, Longport with Mr. Cope's school rooms at Newport Lane were used. An attendance officer was appointed to deal with those children who did not go to school and the Board drew up a set of rules to guide the head teachers in the curriculum.¹

The activities of the Board were financed from rates, a half-yearly precept was demanded of the Poor Law Guardians who were responsible for collecting the money, each school received a government grant according to its efficiency, and the children paid fees, though the Board could remit them in cases of hardship. The capital cost of buildings and their equipment was met by borrowing from the Public Works Loan Commissioners and was repayable over thirty or fifty years. Out of these funds the Board had to pay the salaries of the teachers, the costs of heating, lighting and maintenance of the buildings, the purchase of books and equipment and the repayment of the loans. The school buildings were often let in the evenings to friendly societies and religious groups but this did not produce much revenue. With ever increasing numbers of pupils and staff the precept had to be raised to keep pace with the growth of the town.

The first building phase of the Board was in the late 1870s, then as now it took some considerable time from the first suggestion to the completion of the building. The area in need of a school had to be

1. Burslem School Board Minutes 2 Nov. 1874, 21 Dec 1874, 7 June 1875, 5 July 1878, 2 Aug. 1875; BSB Minutes 12 Oct. 1874; BSB Regulations for the Management of the Schools in Minutes 7 Dec. 1874;

established, a site had to be found and the owner persuaded to sell at an acceptable price, plans had to be drawn up and approved, the loan negotiated, building tenders examined and the builder approved. The first schools were designed by a Burslem architect, G. B. Ford, but as he had not done a school before he had to submit his designs to the architect of the London School Board, at his own expense, for approval.¹ The quality of his work and that of the builders is evident in that the buildings are still in use as schools today. The first school built by the Board was in North Road to cater for the Hot Lane area of Cobridge. Opened in 1876 it was followed by Middleport and Longport in 1877; Hill Top was built in 1879 and Milton Boys in 1881. Both Middleport and Hill Top were enlarged shortly after being built.²

The second building phase was in the 1890s, the population did not increase very much between 1881 and 1891 but there was a large increase between 1891 and 1901, an increase that was fairly quickly reflected in the schools. These schools were nearly all designed by A. R. Wood. Park Road was opened for infants in 1895 and juniors in 1896, but within five years it was suffering from overcrowding and the stand-by of rented accommodation was resorted to. The school rooms of Hamill Road Primitive Methodist chapel had to be used until a new infants school was opened in 1901 after pressure by local residents, in preference to the enlargement of North Road which had been suggested and planned several times.³ The Board also acquired two schools. The Granville Shelton school was offered to the Board in March 1890, and they paid £1,300 for the school, playground and appurtenances with fences, fixtures and apparatus. It was officially a Board school on 10th November, 1891.⁴ The

1. BSB Minutes 2 Nov. 1874

2. BSB Review of Proceedings since the formation of the Board in 1874

3. BSB Minutes 29 Oct. 1895, 3 March 1896; 7 July 1900, 3 Feb 1900 8 Feb. 1898

4. BSB Minutes 31 March 1890

arrangement with the Wesleyan Day School was a little different, the Wesleyan trustees retained the building whilst the Board paid them rent for cleaning, lighting, repairs, caretaking, heating, taxes and insurance, but the books and stationery and apparatus were purchased and the teaching staff became the responsibility of the Board. The reason in both cases would have been the increasing financial burden of running a school efficiently and the increasingly high standards demanded by the Education Department.¹ In 1893 the Board was offered St. John's National Schools, whose buildings had been condemned by the Education Department. The managers were unsure whether they could provide a new building, hence the offer to the Board, but in the event they did build a new school, on the site of the Churchyard Works, it opened in 1896.²

As well as enlarging buildings because of the natural increase in the population several schools were altered as part of a change in policy. At first, schools were divided into three separate departments, boys, girls and infants, each under its own separate head teacher. The School Board later decided to have mixed and infants departments, where practicable, in most of its schools, considering them more efficient.³ Longport was an all-age school at the beginning but with a preponderance of young children and in 1887 all above Standard IV were officially transferred to Middleport.⁴ Longport was extended in 1893 and re-opened as a mixed and infants school taking the full age range in 1894.⁵ Middleport had a Junior Mixed department under a head-mistress from 1884 until 1897 when it was merged with the boys and girls departments.⁶ Park Road had a mixed department from the beginning, though it went the opposite way from Middleport as it had a separate junior and senior department.⁷ Sneyd Green was opened as a mixed school and North Road was converted in November 1903 to a mixed school.⁸ Hill Top always had separate departments for boys and girls.

1. BSB Minutes 7 January 1901

2. BSB Minutes 3 October 1893; Lichfield Diocesan Magazine March 1896

3. BSB Minutes 3 September 1902

4. BSB Minutes 28 May 1887

5. BSB Minutes 18 December 1893

6. BSB Minutes 21 April 1884; 5 October 1897

7. BSB Minutes 7 May 1902; 15 February 1904

8. BSB Minutes 3 December 1900; 14 December 1903

Once places were available the Board had to ensure that the law was complied with and the children actually did attend school. In a society where children had traditionally worked from an early age and education was a low priority for many it took a very long time for satisfactory levels of attendance to be achieved. In 1879 the percentage of average attendance out of the number on school rolls was 65.1, in 1889 it was 73.8, (a slightly lower figure than that of previous years) and in 1899 it was 88.9. Until 1884 the figure was below 70% and it did not reach 80% until 1893.

There were many reasons for children on the roll being absent, a study in 1876 gave a breakdown of the reasons.¹ As might be expected the greatest number were away because of sickness - 33.5%. Childhood diseases such as scarlet fever, whooping cough, measles and diphtheria spread rapidly in schools and meant long absences and even the death of children. However, the second reason for non-attendance was truancy with 11.3%. In this case the parents were warned and would eventually be taken to court, the maximum fine for breaking the bye-laws was 5s (25p). However the problem of dealing with persistent truants was not really dealt with until 1884. Discussions had been held locally on establishing a joint truancy school for the Potteries or North Staffordshire but these came to nothing. At first Burslem's truants were sent to the Liverpool Truant School, from May 1885 to 1894, then they were transferred to the Lichfield Truant School because the Liverpool school had failed to improve their attendance.² The truants were sent under a magistrates order at a cost to the School Board of five shillings (25p) a week, exclusive of the Treasury allowance. The youngest boy sent to Liverpool was seven years old and the

1. BSB Minutes 2 Oct. 1876

2. BSB Minutes 4 May 1885. 6 Feb 1894; 5 June 1894

3. BSB Minutes 3 September 1888, 4 Feb. 1889. 3 June 1889 2 Sept. 1889 2 Dec 1889; 3 Feb 1890; 5 May 1890 1 Sept 1890

oldest was $12\frac{3}{4}$ years, but the average age was $10\frac{1}{2}$ years. The boys were kept at Liverpool for a few months and then released on licence, some did not return but most returned several times to Liverpool until their compulsory attendance was no longer required, one truant, Henry Scragg, the ten year old son of Samuel Smith a potter, was first sent to Liverpool in September 1888 and was released on licence 5 January 1889, he was returned to Liverpool on 22 May and was released and returned a further four times before his final release on 5 September 1891.¹ In 1893 the cost of sending a truant to Liverpool had increased to 8s 6d (42½p) a week and as the Lichfield Truant School charged 6s (30p) a week this would have been an additional factor in the decision to change from Liverpool to Lichfield.

In the 1876 survey home requirements accounted for 6.7% of absentee's reasons, as at Sneyd National these would have been girls kept at home to look after younger children or assist with washing and cleaning. Late-comers were not strictly speaking absentees, but they accounted for 6.6%, it is possible that several of these children had been delivering breakfasts to members of the family before going to school. Poverty as a reason accounted for another 6.6%, though the Board could remit the fees, but as the Board was still relatively new many parents may not have known this. Change of school accounted for 5.7%, the movement of children from school to school seemed fairly common in the early days of the Board and steps were taken to stop it, a conference was held in November 1875 and rules were drawn up to prevent or diminish the migration of children between schools.²

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1. BSB Minutes 3 Sept 1888, 4 Feb 1889; 3 June 1889; 2 Sept 1889 2 Dec 1889; 3 Feb 1890; 5 May 1890 1 Sept 1890; 2 Feb 1891 5 Oct 1891;
 2. BSB Minutes 6 Dec 1875

5.2% did not have sufficient clothes to attend school, this was the outcome of poverty which the Board did nothing about until 1899, but from then on active efforts were made with the assistance of teachers and pupils. 4½% were kept away from school by their parents, 4% had been sent home to fetch their fees, teachers seem to have been strict about this at first as in March 1877 they were instructed not to send home any child for non-payment of fees without first consulting the Attendance Officer and then not for non-payment for less than one month;¹ 3.6% were away from home, only 2.2% were half-timers short of attendance, they were followed up by both the Attendance Officer and the Factory Inspector. Children who had begun half-time work accounted for 1.2% and had started full-time work.

The Attendance Officers collected lists of absentees from the schools and checked on their reasons for absence, served notices, delivered summonses and gave evidence in court cases and assisted with censuses of children in new parts of the town. At first there was one full-time officer but the numbers were gradually increased and definite districts were allocated. That there was keen competition for the work is shown by the fact that there were 102 applications for a two-third time job in 1883, 52 were interviewed for the appointment.² The effectiveness of the Officers was seriously questioned in 1896 and all of them were put on a month's trial to improve attendance levels in their district.³ As a result one officer was asked to resign, a superintendant officer was appointed at £100 p.a. and he coped with all the difficult cases himself. In 1897 the Board decided to provide

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1. BSB Minutes 29 July 1877
 2. BSB Minutes 10 March 1883
 3. BSB Minutes 1 Sept 1896

the officers with a uniform and the full-time officers were paid £75 p.a.¹ In 1899 a system of bonuses was introduced, if the percentage of average attendance reached 90% in the schools in his district a full-time officer received £10 and a two-third time officer £7-10-0 (£7.50) with an additional £5 or £3-10-0 (£3.50) for each unit in the percentage above 90.² Therefore, with an efficient supervisor and the possibility of dismissal on one side and the chance of a good bonus on the other the level of attendance in the twentieth century maintained a standard in the upper eighties and low nineties.

Not everything was left to the attendance officers, the children were encouraged to have a good attendance record by prizes and concessions. Both individual attendance and the school were rewarded.

In 1887 prizes were awarded to seniors who had made 420 attendances, infants who had made 380 and half-timers who had made 210, at first the prizes were purchased, but the following year disused reading books were given for a full month's attendance.³ In 1894 a school could claim the first Friday afternoon of the month as a half-holiday if the monthly percentage of average attendance reached at least one complete unit higher than that for the previous month or the percentage reached over 90 or above.⁴ This scheme lasted until 1899 when the standard was raised, as were the levels for receiving prizes, and in 1900 the standard was again raised.⁵

The half-time system continued throughout this period. However, a certain level of attainment was expected before a child was permitted to work half-time, under the 1874 Burslem bye-laws the exemption level was the Fourth Standard for the half-timers and the Fifth Standard.⁶

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1. BSB Minutes 7 July 1897
 2. BSB Minutes 21 July 1899
 3. BSB Minutes 2 May 1887
 4. BSB Minutes 2 Oct 1894
 5. BSB Minutes 6 March 1899 2 April 1900
 6. BSB Byelaws 1874

In March 1880 a conference of local School Board was held on the half-time question, the Burslem Board were reluctant to disturb children who were in employment and attending school in accordance with the Factory and Workshop Acts, but who may not have satisfied the requirement of the bye-laws.¹ They wanted to find out if children already employed could be exempted and if the Education Department refused to amend the bye-laws for the future. In the event the standard for exemption from full-time education was reduced to the Second in May 1880, with approval for the change in October, this lasted for two years, in 1883 the standard was raised to the Third.² In 1886 the Clerk to the Board could issue full-time Labour Certificates to children between 13 and 14 employed in factories and workshops when they had failed in one subject in Standard IV and had passed in that subject in a higher one though failing in some other, if the Factory Inspector gave his consent in writing. This was a reduction from the former full-time exemption at Standard V.³

In 1891 the Factory Act forbade the employment of children under the age of eleven and Mr. Acland's Elementary Education (School Attendance) Act of 1893 raised the exemption age from ten to eleven. In 1899 the lower age limit was raised to twelve; in Burslem the standard for half-time exemption was raised from the Third to the Fourth and for full-time exemption from the Fifth to the Sixth, the bye-laws were amended for the twelve years' limit in 1900 with full-time exemption at 14, but 300 attendances in not more than two schools during each year for the five preceding years was accepted as equivalent to passing the Fourth Standard.⁴ This allowed the least academic to leave school and begin work.

1. BSB Minutes 18 March 1880

2. BSB Minutes 3 May 1880 4 Oct. 1880 1 Oct 1883

3. BSB Minutes 29 July 1886

4. BSB Minutes 5 March 1900

The low leaving standard of the late 1870s may have been in response to a favourable trade situation when opportunities were available and the idea of an extended education had still not become established in the minds of children, parents or employers. The latter 1880s were years of trade depression and there was a greater awareness of the importance of education in response to the commercial advance of countries such as Germany and America.

School attendance was no longer a real problem from the mid 1890s. A combination of hard work by the attendance officers, prizes and encouragement in school and the backing of the bye-laws and parliamentary laws, with the acceptance of compulsory education had all contributed to the improvement.

The School Board set out the broad lines of the curriculum in 1874.¹ At least two hours of each school meeting had to be spent on the following essential subjects - reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, grammar, vocal music, elementary drawing, drill and for girls - cutting out and needlework. A discretionary subject was elementary physical science illustrated by objects and examples suited to the capacity of the pupil. Infants had to be taught reading, writing, arithmetic, vocal music, plain needlework, object lessons and physical exercises. Guidance on the content of each subject was given in the Codes drawn up by the Education Department. In 1882 the Board discussed alterations in the Code but saw no reason for teaching infant boys sewing.² The annual government examinations by the Inspector ensured that there was a check on the standards of each school.

Instructions on religious teaching were given in detail.³ The predominantly non-conformist Board were careful to ensure that there

1. BSB Minutes - Regulations for Management of Schools 7 Dec 1874.

2. BSB Minutes 10 Jan 1882

3. BSB Regulations for Management of Schools 7 Dec 1874

was no possibility of any kind of religious indoctrination connected with any particular religious group. The school day opened with hymns from a list of ten approved by the Board, the Lord's Prayer and Benediction. The Authorised Version of the Bible was read and portions of the text selected by the principal teacher could be committed to memory; explanations of an historical biographical, or geographical nature necessary for the understanding of the narrative or an explanation of the meanings of the words could be given by the principal teacher. These religious exercises and the reading and teaching of the Bible had to take place from 9.40 a.m. to 10 a.m. and from 4 p.m. to 4.30 p.m. Parents could withdraw their children from these periods of religious observance and instruction and the system worked without noticeable friction for many years. This situation lasted until the election of 1895. This was the first election for nine years, there were fifteen candidates for the nine places and a predominantly Church-oriented Board was elected. Thomas Hulme(W) who had been chairman since 1886 resigned immediately the result was known and could not be persuaded to change his mind. John Beardmore was asked to take his place, but declined and Samuel Gibson agreed to join the Board after the Education Department had instructed the Board to fill the vacant place. Elected the chairman of the Board was the Rev. Alfred Campion; the vicar of Sneyd and a clergyman of notably 'high Church' views. A sub-committee was set up to examine religious education in the schools and in December 1895 it was decided to adopt the rules and syllabus used by the Stoke Board, except for the part relating to pupil teachers.¹ From the Manchester School Board, Burslem took hymns, moral songs and prayers. Both Church of England clergy and non-conformist ministers could pay inspection visits without prior

1. BSB Minutes 3 Sept 1895, 16 Dec 1895

notice to classes receiving religious instruction. This policy was not reversed by the next School Board, though the balance once again favoured the non-conformists. The question of financial support from the rates for the denominational schools was of more importance than the specific syllabus of religious teaching and the proposals of the proposals of the Education Bill that eventually became the 1902 Education Act concerned the 1898 - 1901 Board.

With regard to other subjects, the Board appointed a music teacher for all the Board's schools from 1877.¹ Burslem had been established as a place with an excellent reputation for choral singing by J. W. Powell, a most enthusiastic teacher of choral singing by the tonic sol-fa method. The first music teacher was William Docksey who remained with the Board until 1890, he left to be in charge of music for the Bradford School Board.² His successor, Edward Mason, stayed for two years and J. A. McGregor was appointed until 1896 when he was asked to resign and singing instruction was placed in the hands of the Head Teachers.³ The Board provided pianos for the schools from 1899.

In 1879 drawing was on the curriculum, but it was not particularly well taught and efforts to improve the standard of drawing were confined to evening classes. In March 1884 Head Teachers had to strike out drawing from their syllabus and the Board minutes state that drawing was taught for the purpose of obtaining government grants, so the Board were not as altruistic towards art education as the presence of the Wedgwood Institute might lead one to expect.⁴ However, the Code of 1885 contained provisions to encourage drawing, so in October 1886 the Board instructed the schools that drawing was to be taught in the boys' departments as a class subject. Teachers were encouraged to work for the Art

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1. BSB Minutes 5 March 1877
 2. BSB Minutes 17 Dec 1889; 4 March 1890
 3. BSB Minutes 31 March 1896
 4. BSB Minutes 3 March 1884

Class Teacher's Certificate. In 1898 a scheme was drawn up by the Wedgwood Institute committee to correlate art teaching in the town and it was adopted by the Board.¹ Art classes in school were to provide the greater part of the elementary teaching of art with the Art Director, Stanley Thorogood, holding periodical inspections of drawing and having general supervision of the methods at a salary of £250 p.a. (£200 from the Wedgwood Institute and £50 from the School Board). The idea was to keep the Wedgwood Institute for advanced studies only and to identify and develop potential art students while they were at school. In 1900 the Board decided to employ a specialist drawing teacher at £150 p.a.² The system organised by Mr. Thorogood proved most efficient and Burslem was established as the main centre for art education in the Potteries after Federation.

Physical education was not ignored, at first it consisted mainly of drill and Sergeant Ball was employed in March 1877 to take drill.³ In September 1877 he was paid £10 to train the masters in drill until they were competent to take over by themselves. It was not until 1898 that the Board decided to employ specialist teachers in drill and physical exercises.⁴ Some equipment was provided, in 1876 William Woodall presented North Road school with a Grant's stride jumping stand and parallel bars, but no other such gifts are mentioned.⁵ The Borough swimming baths were opened in 1894 and in 1896 the Clerk to the School Board drew up a scheme for the teaching of swimming to boys.⁶ It was quickly set up that summer and extended to girls the following summer, with the appointment of an instructor and an instructress. In 1900 two qualified female

1. BSB Minutes 5 Sept 1898

2. BSB Minutes 2 April 1900

3. BSB Minutes 5 March 1877 3 Sept 1877 - **Sgt.** Ball was in the local rifle volunteers.

4. BSB Minutes 3 Oct. 1898

5. BSB Minutes 7 Aug. 1876; Staffordshire Advertiser 26 Aug. 1876

6. BSB Minutes 17 June 1896

physical education teachers were appointed to instruct the female teachers in drill and physical exercise and to supervise its teaching.¹ Games such as cricket and football were played, though not without difficulty; the Headmaster and teachers at North Road were told that they were expected to replace a broken sky-light themselves and that cricket and football were not to be played on the school playground.²

Two subjects that were introduced in the 1890s were cookery for the girls and manual instruction for the boys. In 1892 a sub-committee was set up to study the question of cookery teaching but no classes were organised until 1896 when Milton girls' school was taken over from the Norton School Board and the staff included a cookery teacher for one day a week. The subject was introduced at Middleport girls' school in 1897 and it was planned to have cookery classes in all the girls' departments where the building permitted.³ In 1892 two headmasters, Messrs. Baddeley and Cronshaw attended a course on manual training at Leipzig. In 1894 Mr. Cronshaw was not allowed to take time off to attend a course on Card Board Sloyd (a Swedish system of manual training using woodwork) because the County Council was running a course on the subject in the winter. In 1901 it was decided to have a special centre and manual instruction was appointed to take the older boys in the Wedgwood Institute.⁴

Curriculum development was mainly determined by the Codes issued by the Department of Education in London, the areas of local initiative were in art training and in singing. The extension of the curriculum from academic subjects to practical subjects recognised that on leaving school many of the boys would be engaged in tasks involving manual skills and that it was important to develop the facility of handling tools.

With so many working mothers, 22.1% of all married or widowed women in

1. BSB Minutes 11 June 1900. The Misses A Garret and N Garside; Gold Medallists of Southport P.T. College, holders of Diplomas and Gold Medals of the National Physical Recreation Society and South Kensington Certificate for Physiology and Hygiene

2. BSB Minutes 29 Oct 1889

3. BSB Minutes 29 Feb, 1892, 4 May 1897, 1 June 1897

4. BSB Minutes 15 Sept 1892, 21 July 1894, 1 Sept 1897

1901, it was thought that girls did not have the opportunity to acquire cooking skills at home and as girls were expected to become housewives the schools were to remedy that deficiency. The setting up of the County Council after 1888 saw further development, the Council ran courses and organised conferences, such as the one proposed in 1902 by the sub-committee for the Trades of North Staffordshire to encourage science instruction in schools, a subject hitherto neglected.¹ Curriculum development by individual teachers depended on their own interests and the education they had received themselves.

The schools were concerned not only with the education of the children but with the education and training of the pupil teachers. The system of having pupil teachers was well established, it made up for the shortage of trained teachers and was also much cheaper, they were paid £10 a year in 1874, whilst a qualified assistant teacher received £40 p.a.² As well as teaching they were expected to spend an hour a day to private study under the head teacher, their goal was a Queen's scholarship and a place in a training college for a two year course. Any obviously unsuitable pupil teachers were dismissed or transferred to a situation though more appropriate. It was not until 1894 that a sub-committee of the Board was set up to consider the question of the systematic visitation of school by members of the Board and the central instruction of pupil teachers.³ The new Board of 1895 set up its own sub-committee to consider the question of central instruction and the adoption of a reference library for them. It reported in 1896 and Mr. Wade's scheme of using the Wedgwood Institute for fifty pupil teachers was adopted.⁴

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1. BSB Minutes 5 March 1902
 2. BSB Minutes 21 Dec 1874; 3 April 1876
 3. BSB Minutes 5 June 1894
 4. BSB Minutes 28 May 1895, 3 March 1896

Not only the pupil teachers received help, ex-pupil teachers had to pass a Certificate examination. In 1885 Mr. G. Baddeley, head master of Hill Top boys' school, was allowed the free use of a classroom one night a week to prepare assistant mistresses for the Certificate.¹ In 1887 Mr. Darling, senior assistant at Middleport boys' school, was allowed to run Certificate classes on two nights a week.² In 1898 the Board provided a tutor to help the expupil teachers prepare for the examination, this was in lieu of increasing their maximum salary.³

The issue of central instruction of pupil teachers exercised the other School Boards in the Potteries. In 1898 a conference was held at the instigation of the Hanley and Stoke Boards.⁴ It decided that the project was desirable. Representatives from Stoke, Longton and Wolstanton were to visit and inspect the Wedgwood Institute and the Wesleyan School, Hanley and report on which building to use as a centre. But the conference was adjourned for the individual School Boards to discuss the matter, because Wolstanton schools were inconvenient for Burslem or Hanley and as Longton already had a scheme it was thought that the Wolstanton and Longton School Boards would not co-operate. However, there was pressure from London, the Burslem Board thought that the recommendations for the better instruction of pupil teachers in the Report of a Departmental Commission would be enforced, so the Board memorialized Parliament to grant a subsidy so that the whole burden did not fall on the rates. Meanwhile, Mr. J. S. Gowshall, headmaster of the Wesleyan Day School, was appointed as teacher of the male and female ex-pupil teachers preparing for Certificate examinations.⁵ He was able to use Park Road school for up to three nights a week for

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1. BSB Minutes 5 Oct 1885
 2. BSB Minutes 28 May 1887
 3. BSB Minutes 21 June 1898
 4. BSB Minutes 31 Oct 1898; 5 Dec. 1898
 5. BSB Minutes 6 Feb 1899

two hours a night. In 1899 consideration of a new system and centre was published.¹ In 1900 the Board heard a Mr. A. W. Brown, Secretary of the Council for the Extension of Higher Education in North Staffordshire on one of the three main objects of the Council, a pupil teacher centre and a Day Training College for teachers. The Chairman of the Board, George Wade, stated that if it led to the establishment of a University College then the Board gave its approval and support to the idea.² Progress was slow, in 1901 the Board decided to establish a Teachers' Library and provide the books. Another conference was held under the auspices of the Council for the Extension of Higher Education and this time more progress was made. The Board applied for permission to contribute towards the cost of erecting and maintaining a centre for the Potteries and Newcastle, with representatives on the governing body according to the rateable value of each district. A centre was set up in Hanley and in September 1901 the Board decided to send its pupil teachers there, at an equal pro rata division of the net cost, with the railway and tram fares being pooled and equally divided. Financial difficulties threatened in 1902 as the Board of Education refused formal sanction for expenditure on the centre. However the Special Education committee of the County Council allowed the expenditure for 1902-1903. In 1903 the salaries of the pupil teachers were assessed on their results at the centre.³

There was some concern for the further training of teachers; extra salary was given to those who matriculated, and in 1883 one head mistress of an infants' school received her appointment on condition that she acquired knowledge of the kindergarten system.⁴ In 1896 a Mrs. Hughes, a kindergarten

1. BSB Minutes 3 Dec 1900

2. BSB Minutes 3 Dec 1900

3. BSB Minutes 3 April 1901; 26 June 1901; 4 Sept 1901; 29 Oct 1902; 15 Dec 1902; 4 Feb 1903

4. BSB Minutes 1 Oct 1883-Miss M B Heath at Middleport Infants

teacher, was given permission and the free use of a room to instruct teachers on the Union Jack, Varied Occupation and Drill.¹ In 1899 the Board approved of the County Council's scheme for instructing teachers in elementary science and encouraged them to join the class, the Technical Instruction Committee of the County Council provided an instructor and paid for the raw materials.² In 1902 the teachers were given a lecture on eyesight in connection with Circular 456 of the Board of Education.³ The Burslem School Board were not prepared to spend money on such projects themselves, but were glad to accept schemes, if funds were forthcoming, from the County Council or from central government.

Child welfare was little regarded until the late 1890s and then there was legislation in the offing. From the beginning the Board could remit the fees for poverty-stricken parents, for example at the time of the potters' strike of 1881 where parents were unable to pay the fees the teachers were told to accept the written undertaking of the parents to pay the arrears after the termination of the dispute. But the fact that the lack of boots or clothes could be accepted as a reason for absence from school indicates that the Board did not consider it part of their duty to remedy the situation. However generous each member of the Board may have been privately, they were reluctant to spend ratepayers' money, especially when much of it was committed to new buildings and in the early years there was an adverse balance which had to be made up by the ratepayers. Separate fund raising efforts were organised, there were annual treats and concerts were organised.⁴ The Board were typically cautious in the adoption of school savings schemes. In 1881 an Education

1. BSB Minutes 1 Dec 1896

2. BSB Minutes 5 June 1899

3. BSB Minutes 5 Feb 1902

4. BSB Minutes 2 May 1881; 24 June 1889

Department circular suggested the cultivation of habits of thrift by the provision of facilities for children's savings. It was two years before the Board decided to institute a scheme for savings banks in schools; it was a further three years before a conference was organised with head teachers and the chairman and vice-chairman of the Board on setting up Penny Banks, this was a month after one of the head masters had reported favourably on its operation in his school.¹

A scheme for penny dinners for children was left very much to the enthusiasm of individual teachers, the Board's 'cordial sympathy' for the scheme was expressed in 1884, they allowed the free use of the building, directed the Clerk and teachers to render such aid as might be given without detriment to their other duties and sanctioned the employment of the caretakers on the understanding that any additional remuneration to them came from the Dinner Fund. The project began in January 1885 and proved very successful; it was repeated the following year. In January 1888 only Hill Top school was reported to be running a Penny Dinner scheme and to be recommending it to other schools. Penny Dinners were not mentioned again.²

In October 1898 the local manufacturer, Samuel Gibson, sent a cheque for ten guineas (£10.50) to provide meals for poor children but it seems to have been used for a clothes and boots fund.³ The Independent Labour Party were allowed to use Hill Top school for a social evening to raise funds to provide meals for poor children in the winter months.⁴ Whilst the Board were sympathetic to the situation it was individuals or outside groups who actually did something. The situation changed

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1. BSB Minutes 4 July 1881; 2 July 1883; 29 July 1886; 30 Aug. 1886
 2. BSB Minutes 18 Dec 1884; 2 Feb 1885; 30 Jan 1888;
 3. BSB Minutes 31 Oct 1898
 4. BSB Minutes 5 Dec 1898

somewhat in 1899, concerts were given in the Town Hall by the children, one of the teachers was given time off from his normal classes to prepare them and the concerts raised £30 which was distributed to the head teachers in proportion to the size of their roll. A Ladies' Committee was organised to deal with gifts of cast-off clothing; it did not always run smoothly, one mother had legal proceedings taken against her because she had pledged the boots lent to her son under the scheme.¹

Several specific groups of ~~deprived~~ children eventually attracted attention. In 1890 the H.M.I. queried the lack of education of canal boat children but the Board considered that nothing could be done for them because they remained in the district for only a few days at a time.² The blind and deaf were not given help until the Act of 1893 and then the prime mover of the provision of a school for these children in North Staffordshire was Godfrey Wedgwood. The Burslem Board sent their deaf children to Manchester at an annual cost of £17-6-8 (£17.33) and the blind went to a special school in Liverpool. Unlike their experience over trying to set up a joint truant shcool for North Staffordshire a joint school for the deaf and the blind was successfully established, mainly through the persistent efforts of Godfrey Wedgwood. In 1897 these children were transferred to The Mount, paid for by the Board with a parental contribution of 6d (2½p) a week. In 1894 there were 12 such children in Burslem, very close to the estimated 13, calculated at the rate of four per 10,000.³

Mentally defective children were less well served than the blind, deaf and dumb children. In 1901 a sub-committee was established to discuss

1. BSB Minutes 4 Dec 1899; 2 April 1900

2. BSB Minutes 2 July 1890

3. BSB Minutes 5 June 1894; 1 June 1897; 13 April 1897; 4 Dec 1894

the provision of a centre for the special instruction of such children. It was decided to adopt the 1899 Elementary Education Act and appoint Dr. C. H. Mott to ascertain which children in the district were defective. Some nine months later the School Board decided to request the sanction of the Board of Education to provide an experimental class for twenty such children, though they saw no prospect of the class actually being established. Miss S. Benett did attempt to have a special class organised but without success.¹

For children over the age of 13 or 14 little was done outside the evening classes. Those who wanted a higher grade education either had to travel to Hanley or to Newcastle-under-Lyme or attend private schools. In 1898 there was a suggestion that Burslem should have its own higher grade school but nothing came of it.² Over the year 1900 to 1901 there were very few children aged between 14 and 15 years and there were only two girls over the age of 15 in school. Yet at the evening classes the largest numbers were in the age group 13 to 17 which indicates that there was a demand for an education from these older children, even though they had to work as a matter of financial necessity.³

Although the bye-laws gave five years as the age at which compulsory education began the schools did take in younger children. In 1876 there were 50 children from the North Road area who were attending public elementary schools who were aged between three and five years. Middleport School certainly had a 'nursery' in 1887.⁴ In 1897 the Education Department was asked if the Board could establish a crèche, the matter was referred

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1. BSB Minutes 4 Dec 1901; 8 Oct 1902
 2. BSB Minutes 19 Dec 1898
 3. BSB Year Book 1900-01
 4. BSB Minutes 2 Oct 1876; 2 May 1887

to the Local Government Board who said that there was no legal authority for such an expenditure, so it was not established.¹

One question which exercised the Board on a number of occasions was corporal punishment, strict rules were laid down from the beginning which confined its administration to head teachers only.² That these rules were not adhered to was shown by the fact that heads were reminded of them in 1882 yet only a few months later the Board admonished three teachers, including a pupil teacher, for inflicting corporal punishment.³ The punishment books of each school were examined by the Board and notice was taken of any excessive use. The punishment of children also involved the parents. In 1878 a Mr. Robinson complained that undue severity had been used by Mr. Campion, head master of Middleport boys' school, in punishing his son. The outcome was that Mr. Champion apologized for the first stroke which he had given on account of what he had considered as evasive answers regarding unprepared home lessons and further expressed regret at the effect caused by the subsequent punishment which had been more severe than he had anticipated.⁴ In 1891 the head mistress of North Road girls' school complained to the Board that she had been subjected to an assault and insults from the mother of a girl she had punished. In this case the Board told the parent not to interfere with the teachers but to complain directly to the Clerk and then the Board would investigate. Another incident involved the head of North Road infants' school, she had received annoyance and insults from people living by the school who had heard a new child screaming and had assumed that it was being beaten by the teacher. In her case the Board were prepared to issue a summons against any offending parties if a clear case could be made out.⁵

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1. BSB Minutes 13 April 1897; 4 May 1897; 13 July 1897
 2. BSB Minutes 6 Dec 1875
 3. BSB Minutes 6 Feb 1882; 2 Oct 1882
 4. BSB Minutes 6 Jan 1879
 5. BSB Minutes 31 Aug 1891

In 1901 the rules were relaxed, the Board adopting those of the London School Board, with the amendment that the power of delegation of the head teacher to administer corporal punishment was extended to assistant teachers, but pupil teachers, candidate pupil teachers or monitors could not administer corporal punishment.¹ Such punishment was not always necessary, it was said of Mr. G. H. Baddeley, the head master of Hill Top Boys' school from 1877 that:

"He was a man of such authority that in earlier years it was not uncommon for the police to seek his assistance in quelling a disturbance in some of the more notorious parts of the town. He was held in such high regard that his very presence had a most sobering effect upon the most violent character."²

The education provided by the School Board was not confined to day schools, evening classes were a well established tradition for those who had started work and wished to continue their education. At first these were organised by individual teachers, the Board merely giving permission for the use of the buildings. The first night school was run by Mr. Barkly, Head master of North Road boys' School, unfortunately he absconded with £7-14-7 (£7.73) a few months later.³ It was not until 1881 that two teachers at Hill Top boys' school started evening classes.⁴ Soon after they opened there were 104 boys and men in attendance, of whom 33 were over 21 years of age.

In 1882 the Board turned their attention to specialised evening classes in art. They decided that the existing standards were unsatisfactory and set up a drawing class and a modelling class for boys from all the day schools in Burslem, at a fee of one penny. A teacher, Mr.

1. BSB Minutes 3 April 1901

2. Burslem Congregational Church 150th Anniversary, 1821 - 1971. George H. Baddeley d. 13 June 1934. Apointed Headmaster of Hill Top Boys' School, Burslem in June 1877, still headmaster in 1910. 1903-1906 member of Burslem Education Committee. Deacon of the Congregational church for 52 years, Sunday School teacher for over forty years, weekly offering steward for 44 years, president of the Band of Hope for 55 years.

3. BSB Minutes 4 Dec 1876 March 1877

Jarvis, was engaged and William Woodall paid for him to go to Brussels to study the methods of teaching drawing which Woodall had observed when, as a member of the Royal Commission on Technical Educaiton, he had visited various European centres. The classes opened in September 1883 with the approval of the Science and Art Department and were held on two nights with two teachers supervised by the head of the Wedgwood Institute School of Art. They were so popular at first that they were repeated on a third night. A committee of managers was set up and in 1884 a shilling (5p) entrance fee was charged which was returned to those who entered examinations. Unfortunately the classes collapsed in February 1886, the Board blaming the 'illiberal grant made by the Science and Art Department'. It was not until 1894 that drawing and modelling were offered as evening classes continued as before, in 1884 Mr. Cronshaw was allowed to receive the government grant and the fees, less £5, and the scholars had to provide their own books and equipment.² In 1887 the first class for girls was established.³ In response to a letter from the Factory Inspector the Board stated their willingness to encourage night schools and offer facilities, but the initiative still had to come from the school teachers.⁴ The night classes were inspected by one of Her Majesty's Inspectors and the pupils were entered for the North Staffordshire Adult Education Society's examination. In 1889 the Board decided to recognize the achievements of the night school students by awarding certificates to all who

2. BSB Minutes 28 July 1884

3. BSB Minutes 1 Aug 1887

4. BSB Minutes 30 Jan 1888

had passed in the three 'Rs' at the government examination.¹ In 1893 these night classes became known as Evening Continuation Schools and the Board provided the registers and the account books.² During 1894 William Wade prepared a report on the organisation of these schools.³ Two were to be opened, at Granville and Middleport, for youths only in the first year. For two hours each evening and for three evenings a week the following subjects were taught: reading, writing, composition, arithmetic, algebra, the life and duties of a citizen, drawing, and modelling. Head teachers and assistants were appointed, prizes were given for regular attendance and proficiency, books, registers, apparatus and stationery were supplied and a lime-light lantern was bought and used first with hired slides and later with purchased slides. The opening of the schools was extensively advertised and the range of subjects was quickly extended to include shorthand and book-keeping. In 1896 there were seven such schools for males and the first one for females and the emphasis was changing from 'picking-up' those who had missed an earlier education to developing and continuing education.⁴ The girls were taught reading and recitation, writing and composition, arithmetic, cookery, dress-cutting and needlework. In 1897 Milton added physiology and ambulance work as the St. John Ambulance Association had been using Milton for their own lectures since 1891.⁵ Magnetism and electricity were also added to the syllabus. Some subjects were more popular than others, the least popular was 'Citizenship' and it was eventually replaced by Commercial Geography. In 1898 a course in practical science was added and French classes were

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1. BSB Minutes 17 Dec 1889
 2. BSB Minutes 3 Oct 1893
 3. BSB Minutes 4 Sept 1894
 4. BSB Minutes 1 Sept 1896
 5. BSB Minutes 7 Sept 1897; 7 Nov 1891

established in 1898 after popular requests.¹ The first mixed class was for vocal music at Middleport and Milton was made a mixed evening school in 1899. Mr. W. Holder, the head master of Granville mixed school, was appointed the organiser of the evening schools and local committees were setup for each school to encourage their use. More equipment was purchased - three sewing machines and four typewriters.²

In spite of the thorough organisation there were problems, parents were indifferent to the evening schools and did not encourage their children to attend, and those young people who lived at a distance from their work were often too tired to go out again to evening classes, financially too there were difficulties. In 1898 two members of the Board joined a deputation of the Association of School Boards to Sir John Gorst on the reduction of grants under Article 107b. In 1901 the Board applied to the Board of Education for the Evening Continuation Schools and the Art Classes to be recognized for the purpose of a government grant as before but they only continued with the assistance of the County Council who had a Special (Education Act 1901) Committee to cope with the situation. In 1902 the Board registered a protest against the separation of the evening schools from the day schools in the proposed Education Bill. Again the County Council gave permission for the art classes to continue and after at first stating that they would not recognize Granville Evening School the Board of Education relented and the evening classes continued into 1903. The value of such classes was recognized by the School Board who, in 1902, launched a wide publicity campaign aimed at encouraging employers to persuade their young people

1. BSB Minutes 7 Dec 1897; 2 Oct 1899; 3 Oct 1898

2. BSB Minutes 3 Oct 1898; 30 Oct 1899; 29 Oct 1900 27 July 1899; 5 Dec 1898

to attend and take advantage of opportunities to further their education.¹

The Burslem School Board first met on 26th March 1874 and the final meeting was on 22nd October 1903 before the Local Education Committee took over. There were ten Boards consisting of nine members, except for the last Board which had eleven members. For all but three years the non-conformists were in the majority on the Board, usually by five members to four, indeed their election slogan was:

'Vote for the Bible Five'.² The cumulative voting system was designed to ensure the representation of minorities, in Burslem it meant that Roman Catholics had a representative on seven Boards, they were the Revs. P. J. Hendriks, J. V. Hymers and Mr. J. Gratton. There were Church of England clergymen on eight Boards, though two resigned before their three year term was complete, they were the Revds. Dr. J. D. Massingham, John Birch, J. M. A. Graham, Henry Edwards, Alfred Campion and G. B. Bardsley. They were the only members of the Boards, apart from Harry T. Davenport, to have received a university education. There was one non-conformist minister, of the Congregational church, the Rev. Thomas Hartley. Two were professional men, Samuel Oldham was a surgeon and Arthur Ellis was a solicitor. Earthenware manufacturers were well represented with a minimum of two on each Board and as many as four on some Boards. There was a builder or engineer on every Board who were able to supervise building work undertaken on the Board's behalf. Local tradesmen and shopkeepers were represented and ordinary working people were also represented by John Gratton, a potters' fireman and John E. Oakes a saggarmaker. Trades unionists were represented by Enoch

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1. BSB Minutes 8 Feb 1898; 7 Feb 1901; 2 Oct 1901; 7 May 1902; 29 Oct 1902
 2. Canon E Moore Darling, Staffordshire Weekly Sentinel May - June 1959 son of local headmaster E H Darling., Series of articles on his childhood memories.

Edwards of the miners and on his resignation, by Thomas Edwards of the ovenmen. The only woman to be elected to the School Board, Sarah Benett, was described as a spinster, but she took a keen interest in unionising women pottery workers. She first stood for the Board in 1898 and came twelfth in the poll, in 1901 she came third. A man who devoted much of his time to the pottery workers was William Owen who was a member for just over a year of the first Board.

There were four men who chaired the Boards over the years, William Wookall for twelve years, Thomas Hulme for nine years, the Rev. Alfred Campion for three years and George Wade for the last five years. Woodall (1832-1901) was a Congregationalist by denomination and a Liberal in politics. By training he was a gas engineer but after his marriage to Miss Macintyre he became a director of Macintyre & Co. the earthenware manufacturers. Woodall devoted much of his time to public affairs as a member of the Local Board of Health and of the Town Council. He made a major contribution to the erection of the Wedgwood Institute as Secretary to the committee and in later years as chairman of the management committee and Honorary Librarian. In 1880 he was elected one of the two members of parliament for the Stoke-on-Trent seat and at the redistribution of seats in 1885 was elected the member for the Hanley seat which he held until his resignation from ill-health in 1900. In 1886 he received his first government post as Surveyor-General of Ordnance which led to his resignation from the School Board; he had resigned from the Town Council in 1883. From 1892 to 1895 he was Financial Secretary to the War Office, although many people had expected him to have been given a post in the Education Department. Indeed education was one of the main enthusiams in his life, he always maintained his interests in the Wedgwood Institute, in 1872 he was co-opted as a member of the Board of

the Endowed School in Burslem; as a member of the Board of the Endowed School in Burslem; as an M.P. he was a member of the Royal Commission on Technical Education. He was a generous man who presented prizes to the school children of Burslem out of his own pocket for attendance and scholastic efficiency. He was hard-working and conscientious with strong religious and political convictions though he was highly esteemed as a person by all.¹

Woodall's successor as chairman of the School Board was Thomas Hulme (W) (1830-1905) also a director of Macintyre & Co. He had begun his working life as a clerk in the Woodland street Works of John Wedgwood, Tunstall, then he worked in the office of Macintyre's before becoming a partner, and he retired from business in the early 1880s. He was elected to the Town Council in 1878 and retired in 1897, he was twice mayor, in 1882-3 and 1904-5, he was also a County Councillor. He was a member of the United Methodist Free Church and was the organist at the Hill Top chapel for forty years and was president of the Tonic Sol-fa Choir for many years. Politically he was a Conservative, though he considered himself as an Independent on the School Board to which he was elected in 1880 and of which he was chairman from 1886 until 1895. At the 1895 election he came seventh in the poll and when it was clear that the denominationalists were in the majority on the new Board he declined to serve; in spite of the efforts of his colleagues to persuade him to change his mind he was adamant and took no further part in School Board work, though he did present some trees and shrubs to Longport School in 1903. Thomas Hulme was a generous benefactor to Burslem, he gave £1,000 for the extensions to the Wedgwood Institute opened in 1894

1. Obituary - Staffordshire Advertiser 13 April 1901 p6

when he presented his valuable collection of pottery to the Wedgwood Institute museum, of which he was Honorary Curator. In 1904 he paid for the site of the new School of Art on Queen street at a cost of about £5,000.¹

The Rev. Alfred Campion was the chairman of the 1895-1898 Board. He was a graduate of St. Alban Hall, Oxford and was ordained a deacon in 1879. He became the vicar of Holy Trinity, Sneyd in 1887 and firmly established the high church tradition at Sneyd and has been given the credit for leading the trend in the north of the Potteries for the use of ecclesiastical vestments and making Holy Communion the main service. He was elected in third position to the 1895 Board with 2,321 votes and retained his place on the 1898-1901 Board with 3,500 votes still in third place though he did not retain the chairmanship as the School Board reverted to being predominantly unsectarian.²

The last chairman of the School Board, from 1898 to 1903, was local earthenware manufacturer George Wade (1864-1938). He was a new member of the School Board although he had been a Town Councillor from 1894. He was a Wesleyan Methodist and a Liberal and was popular with the voters as he came second and then first in the polls in the two elections in which he stood. Wade proved to be an active chairman and education was an important interest of his.

The most active Boards were, as might be expected, the first one and the Boards from 1892 onwards. The 1874 to 1877 Board was concerned with the organisation and establishment of the Board school system. The 1880s were a fairly quiet period as far as the School Boards were concerned but the 1890s saw more legislation affecting schools and education than before and an increased concern for children previously ignored. The Boards were not given much latitude in establishing anything new, especially if it involved expenditure of any kind, permission had to be

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1. Obituary Staffordshire Advertiser 2 Sept 1905, gravestone Burslem Cemetery
 2. William Scarratt Old Times in the Potteries
Local Newscuttings Vol. 9 pl20 - Staffordshire Sentinel 7 Sept 1917

sought from the Education Department and was not always granted. The School Boards tried to establish high standards in their schools and in the earlier years a number of staff, including head teachers were asked to resign or were dismissed after receiving poor results in the Government examinations and an adverse report from Her Majesty's Inspector. In 1881 a teacher at Hll Top girls' school was asked to resign and the head mistress of Longport school was asked to suggest changes in her teaching staff but she resigned.¹ The Board asked a Miss Darter from Herold's School at Bermondsey of the British and Foreign School Society to visit and assist in improving the teaching of infants. She stayed several weeks and was paid £25 for her services.² Head teachers were nearly always appointed from posts in Burslem, often they were transferred from another headship.

The ten School Boards achieved a great deal in 29 years: there were seven new schools, two schools were taken over and all districts in the town had a public elementary school. The Boards had had to cope with a continually increasing school population which meant that most of the schools needed enlargement at some time, yet they managed. The schools were fully equipped down to six York stones for sharpening pencils at Park road. The number of teaching staff grew from 12 in mid 1875 to 146 at the close of 1897. The number of children grew from none to 6,029, the average number on the registers of three to fifteen year olds in the year ended 31st October 1901.³ All the schools built by the Board are still in use as schools.

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1. BSB Minutes 3 Jan 1881
 2. BSB Minutes 3 Jan 1881, 28 Feb 1881
 3. BSB Year Book 1900-1901

OTHER SCHOOLS

Whilst the School Board may dominate the years 1874 to 1903 there were other schools in Burslem. There were the various denominational schools, there were the dame schools and there were the private schools. These latter schools maintained their position with difficulty and the School Board actively tried to discourage the smaller dame schools.

The denominational schools received government grants and were examined and inspected by Her Majesty's Inspectors, they were recognized by the School Board whose Attendance Officers were supposed to enforce attendance at these schools. The numbers on the roll of the voluntary schools show a small increase. Since this period saw a considerable increase in the population the real decline in the numbers attending the voluntary Schools was much greater. The ratio of the numbers enrolled at voluntary schools as compared with Board schools fell from 54.9% in 1879 to 32.8% in 1901.¹

All the National schools continued and were even enlarged, St. Paul's in 1879, Cobridge in 1884 and St. John's had a new building in 1896 because of the condemnation of their 1817 building. The standard of education in these schools seems to have been fairly satisfactory, in 1875 St Paul's received its 'most satisfactory report yet' and was awarded the maximum grant of 15s (75p) per head.² In 1884 the H.M.I. awarded the excellent merit grant and commented:

'The discipline and tone of this school are, as heretofore, thoroughly good. The percentage is a very high one for so large a half-time school as this, and the general quality of the work is good in all parts.'³

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1. BSB Year Book 1900-1901
 2. Staffordshire Advertiser 8 May 1875
 3. Staffordshire Advertiser 5 Jan. 1884

Teaching methods could be quite up-to-date, for example St. Paul's infants department was run on Froebel lines. The managers of St. John's stated at the time of the building of the new school that the teaching in the old building had been given the highest recommendations by both the Diocesan and Her Majesty's Inspectors. The difficulties lay with the financial side of matters; even with a government grant the National schools did not have the resources for the buildings and equipment that the Board schools had, indeed the cost of the Board schools to the rates was criticised in 1884 by the vicar of Cobridge. The new classrooms at Cobridge provided an extra 130 school places and the vicar

'appealed for help toward paying for it and drew attention to the extravagant expenditure of the Burslem School Board who in 1881 spent £2,800 over their receipts, the deficiency having to be made up out of the rates. In 1882, a deficiency of £2,850 and in 1883 of £2,400 made an average of more than £500 annually for each of the schools under the Board which could have been saved by good management as, with the exception of a small subscription list of less than £30 p.a., the Cobridge Schools are self supporting.'¹

The amount of association between the school and the church of the parish depended on the interest of the individual clergyman. At Sneyd it seems that attendance at church was expected of the children on special occasions and once a week during Lent; the children at St. Paul's went to a service in the church on Ash Wednesday but not throughout Lent. The vicar or curate often took scripture classes at Sneyd, but only rarely at St. Paul's. The Log Book of St. John's notes not infrequent visits from the lay managers of the schools.

The Wesleyan Day School was enlarged in 1884 when a lecture hall and nine classrooms were added and existing accommodation altered to provide another three classrooms. Estimates of the number of children attending the day school varied considerably, in 1886 there were 479 children, but in 1890 there were 250 and in 1892 315 according to information the Burslem School had, yet Kelly's Directory for 1892

1. Staffordshire Advertiser 2 Feb 1884

states that there was accommodation for 368 boys, 140 girls and 80 infants, a total of 588 places with an average attendance of 84 boys, 84 girls and 44 infants, a total of 212 pupils. In 1895 the Education Department declared that the accommodation was sufficient for 761 pupils. As the school had had about 300 pupils in 1860 it had not expanded with the growth of population and this had tragic consequences. In 1878 the master of the school, Henry Wilkinson, committed suicide. Concerned about the state of the school the committee had asked the Principal of the Westminster Training College for advice and a number of alterations were suggested. The prospect of the changes proved too much for Wilkinson, already worried by the decline in numbers brought about by the opening of Board Schools.

Financial problems led to the transfer of the running of the school to the School Board in 1901.

The only real expansion was amongst the Roman Catholic schools. The Cobridge school was enlarged in 1882 and in 1898 a completely new school, St. Joseph's, was opened in Hall Street.² It was combined school and chapel until a separate church was built in 1927.

The small private adventure or dame schools were not well documented. In the 1876 survey of the North road area 39 three to five year olds attended dame schools out of a total of 170 children in that age group, and in the age group 5-13 there were 131 children in private adventure schools out of 605 children.³ The School Board were anxious to discourage the small dame school. In 1878 the keepers of such schools were informed that after the 1st July 1878 no such school where the weekly fee was less than 9d (03.75p) (the Board's fee was 4d (1.5p)) could be recognized unless certified by the H.M.I. under clause 48 of

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1. Staffordshire Advertiser 29 June 1878
 2. Staffordshire Advertiser 31 July 1897, 19 March 1898
 3. BSB Minutes 2 Oct 1876.

the Elementary Education Act 1876 and that proceedings would at once be taken against the parents or guardians of children going from a public elementary school to a private adventure school.¹ The only private adventure school subsequently mentioned in the School Board's minutes was one run by a Mrs Boulton for about 150 children. Mrs Boulton was several times reminded to send her attendance figures to the Board and in 1882 she was told that the Board did not recognize her school. Yet her school was still in existence in 1892 though it was not listed in the directories.²

The directories did list the private schools. In 1875 there were only four, the ladies' school of Miss Cotton was continued from Grange Terrace on Waterloo Road, the Misses Farmer had a girls' school at Newport Street, Edward Ellison ran a boys' Collegiate School at Sneyd Parsonage, and in 1874 advertised as follows:-

"The project of this institution is to impart a curriculum of Classical and Mathematical Erudition, with such elucidation as will enable Youth to become proficient in the ordinary subjects of Science and Art, and afterwards to pursue with success Geographical, Nautical, Mechanical, Commercial and Military Studies, Special attention is given to Calligraphic instruction and boys whose education has been neglected."³

there was the Cobridge Collegiate School run by John F. Earp, B.A. from 1874 to 1883. This last school took both day and boarding pupils and had a graduate staff to prepare boys for public examinations, and for the professions and business. The school moved to Blackladies Abbey, near Penkridge, Staffordshire in 1883.³ By 1879 Edward Ellison had moved his Collegiate school out to Brownedge, Miss Cotton had given up her school though the Misses Farmer still had their school on Newport Street. In 1884 the Misses Ford had a girls' school at Grange Terrace

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1. BSB Minutes 4 March 1878
 2. BSB Minutes 6 Feb 1882; 29 July 1886; 2 June 1890; 1 Feb 1892.
 3. Staffordshire Advertiser 17 Jan. 1874; 2 Jan. 1874; 5 Jan. 1878; 21 April 1883

and a Mrs Woolrich had a school on Furlong Lane. The Cobridge Collegiate school might have been taken over by the Rev. Charles A. Jones who had a boarding school at Cobridge House. However that school is not mentioned again and by 1889 only one Miss Ford was running a school from 182 Waterloo Road, a move from 196 Waterloo Road and the Misses Woolrich retained the school in Furlong Lane. In the 1890s only Miss Ford continued to run a girls' day school in Burslem and even she seems to have ceased by the mid 1890s.

The Endowed School, having been set on a new footing in 1872 remained at the Wedgwood Institute until 1880 when it moved to Longport Hall, the former home of the Davenport family. Although it was supposed to have 100 boys, in 1875 there were only 50 boys and two masters, the head master was James Martin, the author of Philip's Euclid and Nelson's Algebra, the second master was Thomas Salt and drawing was taught by George Theaker of the School of Art and chemistry by A. L. Sparkes of the School of Science.¹ The fees were four guineas (£4.20) a year but three scholarships were offered to boys at public elementary schools aged between 11 and 13 who had a certificate of good conduct from their head master. There was a competitive examination for the free places based on the sixth Standard of the Privy Council Code with English grammar, history and geography.² Shortly afterwards Horace Byatt became the head master and pressed for new buildings but soon after the move to Longport Hall he left and Edwin Stanton Russ was the last head master. By 1892 the school had moved again, this time to Cobridge House but in 1898 a new Scheme of Management was issued by the Charity Commissioners by which the school was closed and an Exhibition Endowment was established to provide scholarships at the schools of Art and Science in the

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1. Staffordshire Advertiser 2 Jan 1875
 2. Staffordshire Advertiser 20 March 1875

Wedgwood Institute and Thomas Leicester provided an annual scholarship for boys at Newcastle High School. The school had never attracted the number of boys it needed and did not develop the academic reputation of Newcastle High School, the upper age limit of 16 years may also have been a restrictive factor. In 1883 some 40 boys left the school and only 24 new boys took their place. The loss of scholars was attributed to two main factors; the increase in fees for five guineas to six guineas a year and secondly the opening of a Wesleyan College at Congleton, for which six boys had left.¹

When the boys vacated their accommodation in the Wedgwood Institute their place was taken by the newly formed Burslem High School for Girls in 1880.² The curriculum was wide ranging: English grammar, language and literature; Latin and French; history, geography, writing, drawing, arithmetic, algebra and euclid, the elements of logic and one or more branches of natural science.³ Pupils were entered for Cambridge Local Examinations. By 1892 the school had moved to the Wycliffe Hall of the Congregational Church and could take 80 girls. Originally there were 12 pupils and in 1892 the average attendance was 50. The school was established with the intention of providing a high class education for the young ladies of the district, but it did not last and was no longer in existence in 1907.

The need for 'Middle Class Education' was recognized in 1869 and both the Endowed School and the High School for Girls seemed to be the most suitable schools to give that kind of education. Yet neither school was particularly successful, they did not have a sufficiently high academic

1. Staffordshire Advertiser 22 December 1883

2. Staffordshire Advertiser 28 October 1882

3. Keates's Directory 1892-1893

reputation and did not attract enough pupils to enable them to last very long.

The Ragged School continued to exist. It operated on Sundays, with morning, afternoon and evening sessions. The income of the school came from a subscription list. In 1884 it was £18-8-0 (£18.40) and the annual service and collection, was £16-15-11½ (£16.80).¹ With the opening of the Board schools and especially with the abolition of school fees in 1891 the main raison d'etre for a Ragged School, the poverty of the children and their parents, would seem to have diminished. Yet it was still in existence in 1904.²

The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the expansion of the Board schools with the slow contraction of the denominational schools and a more rapid diminution in the number of private schools and private adventure schools.

1903-1910

This period saw the establishment of the Burslem Education Committee under the Education Act of 1902. It lasted until it was superseded by the Stoke-on-Trent Education Committee after Federation. The denominational schools were much more closely associated with the Committee than they had been with the School Board while the private schools disappeared.

The new Education Committee took over officially on 1st November 1903 the School Board celebrating its demise with a three-day Art Exhibition of the children's work. The Committee had 16 members, ten of whom were members of the Town Council and six of whom were selected, including at least one statutory woman. Membership was for the three years of the life

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1. Staffordshire Advertiser 26 April 1884
 2. Staffordshire Advertiser 2 Jan 1904 - The Mayor and Mayoress had entertained 200 to 300 Ragged School Children to Christmas breakfast.

of the committee but the 1903-1906 committee, which was extended into 1910, had three changes. The Committee did not have some of the autonomous powers of the School Board, they could not erect new buildings or make extensions to existing buildings, nor could they revise salaries; these functions were part of the work for the Town Council as a whole, though they could and did make recommendations.¹

The first Education Committee was a little different in membership from the provisional committee because some councillors were not re-elected to the Town Council. This meant that the chair was taken by Thomas Willett, an engineer and a Congregationalist, instead of George Wade as had been expected. Willett had previous experience as vice-chairman of the 1898 and 1901 School Boards. The statutory woman was Mrs Mary Alcock, not Sarah Benett. Miss Benett had not always seen eye to eye with the School Board, in May 1903 the Board felt obliged to issue a notice regretting misleading statements and charges against the teachers issued in a pamphlet by Miss Benett and reaffirming their confidence in their staff.² Mrs Alcock was not as controversial as Miss Benett. Both Education Committees were almost overwhelmingly non-conformist in composition, only about three of the 16 being representatives of the Church interest and one Roman Catholic members to represent their interests. As ten members were drawn from the Town Council there was a higher proportion of retail traders than before and a wider range of occupations, with fewer manufacturers and, apart from the clergy, no professional men.

The main themes of the period of the Education Committees were the controversial responsibility taken for the denominational or Voluntary schools, thenceforward known as Non-Provided schools; a much greater

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1. Burslem Education Committee Minutes 21 Oct 1903
 2. BSB Minutes 6 May 1903

response to child welfare, coupled with legislation dealing with the provision of school meals and the establishment of a school medical service. A third theme was the increasing worry over finance: the money from the rate proved insufficient and greater assistance was requested from central government. The Federation of the Pottery towns was being discussed throughout the decade and had to be considered especially in connection with higher education on a secondary and technical level.

As a result of the 1902 Education Act the denominational schools, consisting of the four Church of England National Schools and the two Roman Catholic schools, received aid from local rates. The local education authority took over the responsibility for the standards of secular education, the payment of the teachers' salaries, the provision of replacement furniture, books and teaching apparatus, and repairs due to fair wear and tear. Each school had six managers, two appointed by the Education Committee and four by the religious body, who were responsible for the appointment and dismissal of staff, though the l.e.a. had the final word. The managers provided the building, kept it in repair and made reasonable alterations and improvements.

The majority of difficulties between these schools and the l.e.a. concerned buildings. There was only one incident with a religious content. In 1905 the correspondent of Sneyd National, the Rev. T. H. Rabone, was informed that the practice of taking classes to church every Monday morning 'must at once be discontinued'. The following year permission to close the same school for three afternoons for a bazaar was not granted, though the building was also used as parish rooms.¹

1. B. Ed. C. Minutes 16 Jan 1905; 25 April 1906

St Peter's R.C. school was rebuilt and opened in 1906, though there was a prolonged argument over responsibility for buying the new furniture.¹ Conditions at Cobridge National were criticised in 1910; the building was considered so dirty that the l.e.a. threatened to withdraw their recognition unless something was done. It took several months, but improvements were set in hand.² St. Paul's National opened a new infants' branch in the Shirley Street Mission in 1908, the whole of the original building was then used as a mixed school.³

The denominational schools, though they lost some independence they received rate aid in return, but there were non-conformists who were most unhappy about their money being used to support such schools. Some of them took their objection to the extent of withholding part of their rates, either as an individual protest or as part of what was known as the 'passive resistance' movement. In 1904 nineteen men, including three non-conformist ministers (the Revds. John Young, Methodist New Connexion; W. S. Lamb, Congregational; James Griffin, Primitive Methodist), were summoned before the magistrates for non-payment of a portion of their rates. The Rev. J. Young was chosen to make a statement explaining their objections, he told the magistrates that:

'he spoke on behalf of the Burslem and District Citizens' League and he deeply regretted antagonism to any law but the Education Act of 1902 had intruded upon the domain of conscience, it had assailed principles which they held dear as life, and it had aimed and struck a deliberate blow at the Nonconformity of this country which they could not but resent and resist. They objected voluntarily to pay this portion of the rate, because the Education Act was formed in the interests of two intolerant and sacerdotal churches to the prejudice of the Free Churches, which represented at least half the religious population of the country. They also objected because this Act compelled them to pay for teaching which was hostile to those

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1. B. Ed. C. Minutes 19 Feb 1906
 2. B. Ed. C. Minutes 16 March 1910; 13 June 1910
 3. St. Pauls National School Log Book 1897 - 1956

principles which were vital to the interests of the Free Churches. They objected further because this Act imposed sectarian tests upon teachers who were state officials and who were paid out of public funds. They were also there to protest against the infringement of the common rights of citizenship in that public money was being spent without adequate control.¹

Councillor Sydney Malkin, who was also before the court, disclaimed any connection with the Passive Resistance League, he objected 'against the imposing upon civil servants of a religious test. W. Colclough, who also stated that he was independent of any organised group, called the 1902 Act 'unrighteous and wicked'. None of the nineteen had expected to win their case. At a meeting a couple of weeks before they had decided to hold an open-air demonstration after the sale of their goods. The Magistrate, the Mayor, J. W. Brindley, a Wesleyan Methodist, expressed his sympathy and wanted a change in the law but he issued a distress warrant for the recovery of the money. At the sale of their goods the purchasers were the passive resisters themselves and the amount raised was sufficient to cover the unpaid balances of the rates and the costs, which amounted to about 1s 7d (8p) each.² The court cases gave the passive resisters much publicity and having made their point they did not pursue the campaign much further; a public meeting held a short while after the court case attracted only a small audience.

Child welfare improved, partly through local efforts and partly though the impetus of legislation. In 1904 the Education Committee recommended urgent legislation to empower the l.e.a. to provide meals for children suffering from lack of food and to recover the cost from parents or guardians and to receive grants from the Exchequer towards local expenditure.³ Until such legislation was passed only meals paid

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1. Staffordshire Advertiser 5 March 1904; 19 March 1904
 2. Staffordshire Advertiser 2 April 1904
 3. B. Ed. C. Minutes 19 Sept 1904

for out of voluntary subscriptions could be supplied. The Mayor was asked to open a subscription list, a relief committee was set up consisting of the School Management committee, the Head teachers, the Attendance Officers and the Sanitary Inspectress. As well as individual donations Children's Concerts were held which raised £84-3-5½ (£84.17½) in December 1904 and March 1905; similar concerts in the following year raised £73-15-0 (£73.75) for the Distress Fund.¹ In November 1905 Mr Moreton, the Superintendent Attendance Officer was appointed by the Town Council to make applications to the Guardians or the Relieving Officer for the Relief of School Children in accordance with the provisions of the Local Government Board in April 1905.² The free meals fund received an enormous boost when Samuel Gibson gave £1,000 to establish the Gibson Poor Children's Fund' in March 1906.³ he later made it a condition of the fund that one member of the administrating body had to come from the Congregational church (Gibson himself was a Congregationalist, though he had been a Primitive Methodist in his earlier years). In October 1906 there was a conference with the head teachers who suggested other methods of raising funds than by the concerts (they probably found that the preparation for the concerts was too time-consuming and disruptive). By the following March the teachers had raised £90-2-9 (£90.14) from two whist drives and a lecture. However in 1908 a winter concert raised £48 assisted by the printing work being supplied without charge and the platform was provided and erected free of charge.⁴

In 1907 the l.e.a. decided to adopt the Education (Provision of Meals) Act 1906,⁵ but three months later they gave instructions that

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1. B. Ed. C. Minutes 15 May 1903; 19 March 1906
 2. B. Ed. C. Minutes 13 Nov 1905
 3. B. Ed. C. Minutes 19 March 1906
 4. B. Ed. C. Minutes 18 March 1907; 22 Dec 1908; 15 Feb 1909
 5. B. Ed. C. Minutes 18 Feb 1907

no money from public funds was to be used, cases of necessity had to be met out of private funds, hence the continuation of fund raising activities. By December 1908 it was clear that private funds could not cope with the demands made on them. The Education Committee again applied to the Board of Education for sanction to adopt the Act and use public funds. The Town Council was asked for the equivalent of a ½d (21p) rate and a dinner centre was established in three rooms at the Wedgwood Institute. A cook was employed at 3s (15p) a day, table cloths, crockery and spoons, all stamped as the Education Committee's property, were bought. The Superintendent Attendance Officer, as the person who knew which children were most in need, was given the job of issuing the tickets and ordering the provisions. At the beginning a number of gifts were received, 200 plates were given by J. F. Maddock, the Hot Pot Committee gave three bags of turnips and two people gave bread. Sanction for the ½d rate had to be renewed each year until responsibility passed to the new Stoke-on-Trent Council in April 1910.¹ A visit to inspect Bradford's arrangements for school meals and dinner centres encouraged the Burslem committee to conclude that the local arrangements were equal to Bradford's and the food was quite as good.²

Many children lacked not just a hot mid-day meal but adequate clothing. Committee members Mrs Alcock was also the Honorary Secretary of the district's Needlework Guild and on their behalf she presented new garments to the Superintendent Attendance Officer; 54 in 1906, 72 in 1907, 80 in 1908 and 65 in 1909.³

The health of school children received attention in this period.

1. B. Ed. C. Minutes 13 May 1907; 22 Dec 1908; 15 Feb 1909

2. B. Ed. C. Minutes 13 Dec 1909

3. B. Ed. C. Minutes 25 Oct 1906; 18 Nov 1907; 16 Nov 1908; 15 Nov 1909

Hitherto the only reaction to sickness had been to close the schools at the time of the epidemics of measles or other infectious diseases. The school Board had appointed a Medical Officer in 1894 but only to examine children where there were doubts as to whether they were genuinely ill or claiming illness as a reason for absence. Pupil teachers too, were examined for fitness to be employed. The post was taken by the borough Medical Officer of Health.¹ In 1907 the l.e.a. was required to carry out the medical inspection of children under Section 13 of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act 1907 and Circular 576 of the Board of Education. A lady doctor was advertised for and appointed and given a very detailed list of her duties.² Not surprisingly she discovered many children in need of treatment, they were sent to the Haywood Hospital in such numbers that when the Hospital asked for financial assistance the l.e.a. applied to the Board of Education for power to contribute to the cost of treatment in necessitous cases.³ The children's eyesight also received attention; a Hanley doctor was paid to examine, treat and operate on the eyes of Burslem children.⁴

The mentally defective children were not forgotten. A new domestic subjects and handicrafts centre was being planned and it was proposed that it included accommodation for a class of such children.⁵ In 1908 the chairman and vice-chairman attended a conference in Bristol of the National Association for the Feeble-Minded and the National Special School Union, and concurred with a memorial sent to the prime minister at the request of the National Association.⁶ However, good intentions did not

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1. BSB Minutes 2 Oct 1894
 2. BSB Minutes 13 Jan 1908
 3. BSB Minutes 13 Sept 1909
 4. BSB Minutes 13 June; 19 Sept 1910
 5. BSB Minutes 13 April 1908
 6. BSB Minutes 14 Sept 1908

lead to action and these children did not get a special class before the Burslem committee ceased to exist.

The financing of these new measures began to worry the Education Committee in Burslem as it worried many other Education Committees in the country. Burslem faced additional problems because the rates never yielded a very high income and did not appear likely to do so in the near future. Most housing in Burslem had a low rateable value, there were few areas of better quality housing paying higher rates, though industrial sites did yield more substantial sums.

The precept in the first full year of the Education Committee was £10,800, in 1905 it was £11,000 but in 1906 it had risen to £14,000. This large increase led to a re-examination of the estimates and the Committee decided on economies, the brunt of which were borne by the teachers. The salary scale had been improved in 1904, but in 1906 those teachers who had reached the maximum on the scale could expect no further increase, 21 teachers were dispensed with (though many were subsequently re-employed), uncertificated teachers, who were paid less replaced certificated teachers. In spite of this there was an overdraft of £7,199 at the bank. They applied for a loan by the Town Council under the Education (Provision of Working Balances) Act 1903, which shows that the situation was not uncommon. In fact the bank lent £3,800 and the Town Council gave an advance on the precept. The economy measures reduced the precept of the following year to £12,000, the year after, in 1908, it was £11,400 and in 1909 it was down to £10,043 but in 1910 the new County Borough allocated £12,000 for education in Burslem.¹

1. B. Ed. C. Minutes 10 May 1906; 14 May 1906; 5 June 1906; 13 July 1906; 15 Oct 1906; 18 April 1910.

There were complaints to the Board of Education by the Committee itself and through the Association of Education Committees about their increasing costs and there were demands for more assistance from the Exchequer in the form of government grants. In 1908 the Education Committee blamed the Board of Education for the situation, because of its 'overgrowing demands and requirements'.¹ This had no effect as only five months later the committee passed a resolution, originally framed by Tottenham Education Committee, referring the Board of Education to the;

'serious and practically impossible burdens which have to be met with in providing the necessary funds to carry out the Education Acts² under the exceptional circumstances which prevail in this District'.

A year later a very similar resolution was passed;³ the Association of Education Committees kept trying to get increased grants but after 1910 the situation changed for Burslem as the whole of the Potteries henceforth provided the rateable base.

Although Federation was the dominant political feature of these years it made little impression on the Education Committee, but in 1904 Burslem decided to bring its educational year into line with that of the other Potteries towns, to end on 31st March rather than 31st October.⁴ An attempt at the same time to bring teachers' salaries into line met with approval but no practical steps were taken. However as salaries were held down as an economy measure they did not come into line with the rest of the area.

In 1896 George Wade had favoured a joint education authority in the Potteries for secondary and technical education and his attitude was shared by School Board and the Education Committee.⁵ As a result of the 1902 Act Staffordshire County Council was responsible for secondary

1. B. Ed. C. Minutes 13 April 1908

2. B. Ed. C. Minutes 14 Sept 1908

3. B. Ed. C. Minutes 21 June 1909

4. B. Ed. C. Minutes 14 March 1904; 17 Oct 1904

5. BSB Minutes 17 June 1896

and technical education in Burslem and the other Potteries' towns, except Hanley which was a County Borough in its own right. In 1907 the Education Committee passed a resolution that it was

'desirable and necessary in the interest of the children and ratepayers that the Elementary, Secondary and Technical education of the Potteries be controlled by one authority.'¹

They may have felt that the County Council could not give sufficient attention to their particular area of Staffordshire, and a single authority would be more efficient and economic than a number of different authorities.

When Federation became a certainty the Education Committee became concerned about the Necessitous Aid grant awarded by the Board of Education. Burslem and Longton were afraid that they would not receive the extra help they needed. They were assured that so long as separate records and accounts were submitted this special aid would be applied exclusively to their area.²

A subject which had to be tackled by co-operative action in these years was the payment by one l.e.a. for children who lived in one area and were receiving schooling in another area. The Burslem authority was quite willing to pay provided there was reciprocal action. This fact led to a dispute with Tunstall who refused to admit Burslem children to its school for a period in 1907.³ The matter was resolved though Burslem remained unwilling to pay for children to attend Tunstall schools if there was a Burslem school nearer their home. In 1908 Smallthorne children were excluded from Burslem schools but in 1909 Wolstanton paid £120 per annum for their children to attend Burslem schools.⁴

1. B. Ed. C. Minutes 18 Nov. 1907

2. B. Ed. C. Minutes 15 March 1909

3. B. Ed. C. Minutes 22 Aug 1907; 2 Sept 1907

4. B. Ed. C. Minutes 18 May 1908; 17 May 1909

In other respects the Education Committee continued to follow much the same pattern as that of the School Boards. Regular attendance continued to be encouraged, though the standard were raised for the attendance half-holiday in 1908 and again in 1909 until they were 95% in the Boys' department, 94% in Mixed and Junior departments, 93% in Girls' departments and 90% in Infants' departments.¹ Prizes were awarded for efficiency and good conduct but they were dependent on a high percentage of attendance. Later on medals were awarded for individual unbroken attendance, bronze for three consecutive years, silver for five years, but they did not expect perfect attendance as allowance was made for certified illness. In 1910 the silver medal was awarded for six years' attendance.²

There was very little change in the curriculum, cookery continued to be established in various schools until it was finally decided to build a specialist centre for instruction in cookery, laundry work and manual instruction on the same site as the planned Central school. This block opened in November 1910 when all the individual cookery rooms were closed.³ The only new item on the school time-tables was 'Temperance', a syllabus for which had been issued by the Board of Education and was supplied to the schools. For many years school children had been given lectures on alcohol by a lecturer from the U.K. Alliance under strictly controlled conditions, but that was only once a year, now more continuous provision for instruction was made.⁴ Drill and swimming lessons were extended to the non-provided schools and the Education Committee decided to supply towels for the use of the children.⁵ Singing instruction again received special attention,

1. B. Ed. C. Minutes 18 May 1908; 17 May 1909

2. B. Ed. C. Minutes 18 May 1908; 18 July 1910

3. B. Ed. C. Minutes 7 Nov 1910;

4. B. Ed. C. Minutes 19 July 1909; BSB Minutes 8 Feb 1898; 5 Feb 1900

5. B. Ed. C. Minutes 11 April 1906. 3 Dec 1902

in 1904 a sub-committee was set up to discuss the appointment of a specialist teacher but none was appointed until 1910 when a teacher who had been with the School Board and the Education Committee for a number of years and had been given the responsibility of training the children for the concerts in aid of the Distress Fund was appointed. By the time of his appointment all the schools had been equipped with pianos.¹

The training of pupil teachers became more exacting. In 1905 those wishing to become pupil teachers had to sit an admission examination and in 1906 the minimum age for entry was 16 years.² The successful candidates had a trial period of three months followed by another test, though the probationary period was extended to twelve months after a deputation visited the Director of Education for Staffordshire. Even after training in the schools and at the Pupil Teacher Centre there was no guarantee of employment by the l.e.a. In 1907 the Education Committee set a pass mark of 50% quickly raised to 70% in the final examinations of the Pupil Teacher Centre. As a result only about six or seven pupil teachers were taken on in a year.³

The Evening Continuation Schools were organised by the County Council in the same way and with the same subjects. In 1907 and 1908 these were 'Literary and Commercial;'

Commercial Geography; Science; Home Occupations and Industries : Cookery and dressmaking; preparation for the Midland Counties Examinations in Elementary Handwriting, Shorthand, Book-keeping, Arithmetic, Geography, Typewriting, Commercial Correspondence, Physics, Freehand Drawing, Brush Drawing and Needlework'.

In 1905-1906 the majority of students came from the 12-15 year old age group, in 1906-1907 the 15-21 year old age group predominated. There were a few students over 21 years and in this group the women heavily

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1. B. Ed. C. Minutes 19 Sept 1904; 14 Feb 1910
 2. B. Ed. C. Minutes 13 March 1905; 19 March 1906
 3. B. Ed. C. Minutes 17 June 1907

outnumbered the men.¹

The last meeting of the Burslem Education Committee was held on 7th November 1910, some seven months after the new County Borough had taken over.² In its comparatively short life the Education Committee had built one new school, Jackfield Infants, to relieve the over-crowded Park road. They also embarked on a new Central School when the Wesleyan buildings were declared unsuitable for conversion into a Mixed and Infants school; that school was opened in 1911. The Committee had found the addition of the non-provided schools a considerable financial burden, they were expected to provide a medical service and comply with increasingly high standard set by the Board of Education. Local resources were strained and in common with other l.e.a.s they felt the need for increased grants from the Treasury and were given a Necessitous Aid grant.

The years of the Education Committee produced few changes, the cost of the new system limited expansion, the uncertainty over Federation must also have had an inhibiting effect especially as polls of the town produced a majority against Federation. The Committee was larger than the last School Board and because ten members were Town Councillors it was more subject to change. Much more interest was taken in child welfare, especially in providing meals, firstly out of private funds raised by voluntary contributions and when these proved insufficient, by a half-penny rate. Child health also received attention, schools continued to be closed by epidemics, but medical inspection found conditions that could be treated, though this was only the beginning of the matter. The school doctor also pointed out the unclean state of

1. B. Education Committee Year Books 1903-04; 1907-08; 1908-09;

2. B. Ed. C. Minutes 7 Nov 1910

many children. There was more awareness of safety, warnings were passed on to schools to discourage children from running on the roads. This interest in the non-scholastic aspect of education came partly from individuals, like Samuel Gibson and Mrs M. Alcock and from central government in legislation and directives from the Board of Education.

In 1910 more children received more education in more and better buildings, from better education teachers at greater cost to the tax and ratepayers, than in 1850. The many small and 'very bad' dame schools had disappeared. The predominance of schools supported by religious organisations diminished as public elementary schools were established. Children attended school regularly and the age at which they could leave for half-time work was raised from ten to eleven years and finally to twelve years. Until 1891 parents were expected to pay fees at all schools, accordingly, in times of trade depression it was found that school attendance fell because parents could not pay, although ~~at such times~~ and during strikes, after investigation of needy cases, the fees were deferred until better times.

For those children who wanted to continue their education after they left school opportunities were limited; the Sunday Schools were one possibility, but their value as a source of learning was limited; evening classes were provided at the Wedgwood Institute, but those were of a more advanced nature. Opportunities for the older child to remain at school beyond the leaving age were very limited and did not improve at Burslem. Children of professional and better-off families also had difficulty in obtaining an education in Burslem, the Endowed School, for boys, and Burslem High School, for Girls did not fulfill expectations and both closed. Families who lived outside Burslem, at Porthill, Endon or Alsager sent their children to schools outside the district. The children of working people had no such choice.

The child of 1910 certainly had more opportunities than the child of 1850, the teachers had received more training and taught a wider range of subjects, there was a greater availability of further education, especially in vocational subjects and county scholarships opened up the

possibility of university education. It had become accepted that children had a childhood to be spent at school and that they were not merely small workers spending their days in hard physical labour.

Throughout the period there was friction between the non-conformists and the Church of England. The Church had provided more schools than any other religious group in the town, but with any possibility of money from rates or taxes going to Church schools, resentment was aroused. The 1870 Education Act was not entirely acceptable to non-conformists because it opened the way for rate support to denominational schools and that feeling may have lain behind the long delay in establishing a School Board in Burslem. The 1902 Education Act, which firmly brought the denominational schools, both Established Church and Roman Catholic, under the control of the Education Committee and provided for rates to be used to pay their running costs and the salaries of the teachers, provoked opposition in the years before and after the Act, culminating in the 'passive resistance' movement in which non-conformists refused to pay that part of their rates that went to the denominational schools. The anger and action was on the side of the non-conformists, the denominationalists tended to be more passive and avoided provoking opposition most of the time but there were exceptions.

An important change was that it was recognised that education was an expensive business, voluntary bodies could not raise sufficient funds from the local community to support schools properly. The award of the government grant brought a government inspector to check that the money was being properly spent. The inspector's power increased considerably when grants were awarded on a per capita basis and his visit and subsequent report were awaited with some trepidation. The formation of

the School Board to organise schools paid for by local rates allowed a local style of education to develop, but the Education Department in Whitehall exerted considerable control over the curriculum and management of schools, with the issue of 'Codes' of the levels of attainment expected and the power of the inspector continued because these schools also received government grants. The Education Department also made suggestions to the School Board on matters that were not strictly educational, such as the encouragement of thrift by the establishment of school savings banks. The Education Committee was at the receiving end of more instructions and regulations arising from Acts of Parliament and from the Board of Education. These stretched local resources to the limit and made them more dependent on grants from central government and gave less scope for local experimentation. The relationship between local authority and central government was that of recipient and giver, the Burslem authorities occasionally commented on or objected to instructions from London and memorialized the appropriate minister or lobbied M.P.s if a new Act was proposed, but without noticeable effect.

The achievement of the statutory bodies - the School Board and the Education Committee, backed by Her Majesty's Inspectors and the Education Department and later the Board of Education, were undeniable and valuable. The provision of education, in spite of the efforts of the churches, was quite inadequate to cope with an ever-increasing population and a growing demand for more and better education. The growth of schooling and its widening curriculum could not have been achieved without the intervention of Parliament in passing the various Acts and the time and interest taken by local citizens, together with the co-operation of teachers and, not least, of parents and children. The establishment of high teaching

standards was a major result of the supervision of the inspectors and of the improvement in teacher training. The parents' attitude also had to change, from that of regarding the child as a wage-earner from the age of six or seven to regarding the child as a scholar who would not only not bring money into the family, but would cost money, until the twelfth or thirteenth year. The change in attitude towards children was an important result of changes in the law, the 1864 Factory Act Extension Act had laid the groundwork, it was reinforced by the 1870 Education Act and the later Factory and Education Acts and a greater concern for the welfare of the children developed. Education moved from being the province of denominational bodies to being dominated by statutory bodies.

Members of the Burslem School BoardKey

Column 1 - Name: C - Chairman; VC - Vice-chairman

Column 2 - Number of votes received

Column 3 - Classification: M - Moderate

P - Progressive

I - Independent

La- Labour

Column 4 - Political affiliation, where known: C - Conservative

L - Liberal

La- Labour

Column 5 - Occupation

Column 6 - Religious affiliation: CE - Church of England
M-W - Methodist-Wesleyan
M-NC - Methodist-New Connexion
M-UMF - Methodist-United Methodist Free
M-P - Methodist-Primitive
C - Congregationalist
RC - Roman Catholic

1874-1877

William Boulton	2430	P	L	Engineer	M-W
Harry T Davenport	1561	M	C	Gentleman	CE
Rev P J Hendren	2531			Priest of St. Peter's	RC
Thomas Hughes	VC 2224	P	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Rev Dr J D Massingham*	1133	M		Vicar of St. Paul's	CE
William E Oulsnam	3323	P	L	Earthenware manufacturer	
William Owen**	2889	P	L	Newspaper editor	M-W
William Shirley ***	1985	M		Commission agent	
William Woodall	C 2754	P	L	Earthenware manufacturer	C

* Resigns, in July 1876 replaced by:

Thomas Blackshaw M Chemist & Druggist

** Resigns and was replaced in July 1875 by:

Charles Bloor P Agent

*** Resigns and is replaced in November 1874 by:

Anthony Shaw M C Earthenware manufacturer M-W

1877-1880

Thomas Blackshaw		M		Chemist & Druggist	
Charles Bloor		P		Agent	
William Boulton		P	L	Engineer	M-W
Harry T Davenport		M	C	Gentleman	CE
Rev P J Hendren*				Priest of St. Peter's	RC
Thomas Hughes	VC	P	L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
William E Oulsnam		P		Earthenware manufacturer	
Anthony Shaw		M	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
William Woodall	C	P	L	Earthenware manufacturer	C

*Resigned November 1879

1880-1883

Rev John Birch*		I	Curate in charge, St Paul's	CE
Charles Bloor		P	Agent	
William Boulton	VC	P L	Engineer	M-W
James Bowden		P L	Builder	M-NC
William M Edge		M C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Gratton			Potters' fireman	RC
Thomas Hughes**	VC	P L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
Thomas Hulme (W)		IP C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-UMF
William Woodall	C	P L	Earthenware manufacturer	C

* Resigned and was replaced in January 1881 by:

Edward Walley	M C	Builder	CE
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** Resigned and was replaced in August 1881 by:

James Maddock	P L	Earthenware manufacturer	CE
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1883-1886

William Boulton	VC	P L	Engineer	M-W
James Bowden		P L	Builder	M-NC
William M Edge		M C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Gratton*			Potters' fireman	RC
Thomas Hulme (W)		IP C	Gentleman	M-UMF
John E Oakes		P L	Saggar maker	
Samuel Oldham		M C	Surgeon	CE
Edward Walley		M C	Builder	CE
William Woodall	C	P L	Earthenware manufacturer	C

* Resigned and was replaced in December 1884 by:

Rev P J Hendren		Priest of St. Peter's	RC
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1886-1889

John Beardmore	1046	P	Ironmonger	
James Bowden	1236	P L	Builder	M-NC
William M Edge	VC 814	M C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Enoch Edwards	1175	P L	Miners' agent (T.U.)	M-P
Arthur Ellis	805	M	Solicitor	CE
Rev Malcolm Graham	1263	M	Vicar of St. Paul's	CE
Thomas Hulme (W)	C 1180	IP C	Gentleman	M-UMF
Edmund Leigh	1096	P L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John E Oakes	1345	P L	Saggar maker	

1889-1892

John Beardmore		P L	Ironmonger	
James Bowden		P L	Builder	M-NC
William M Edge	VC	M C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Enoch Edwards		P L	Miners' agent (T.U.)	M-P
Rev Henry Edwards		M	Rector of Burslem	CE
Thomas Hulme (W)	C	IP C	Gentleman	M-UMF
Edmund Leigh		P L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Mason		M	Coal merchant	
John E Oakes*		P L	Earthenware manufacturer	

* Resigned and was replaced in November 1889 by:

Rev Thomas Hartley	P	Pastor of Independent Ch.	C
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1892-1895

John Beardmore		P	L	Ironmonger	
James Bowden		P	L	Builder	M-NC
William M Edge	VC	M	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Enoch Edwards		P	L	Miners' agent (T.U.)	M-P
Rev Henry Edwards		M		Rector of Burslem	CE
Rev Thomas Hartley		P		Pastor of Queen St Ind Ch	C
Thomas Hulme (W)	C	IP	C	Gentleman	M-UMF
Edmund Leigh*		P	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
John Mason		M		Grocer, coal merchant	

* Resigned and was replaced in June 1893 by:

William Wade	P	Earthenware manufacturer
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1895-1898

James Bowden	2251	P	L	Builder	M-NC
Rev Alfred Campion	C 2321	M		Vicar of Sneyd	CE
William M Edge	VC 1637	M	C	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Thomas Hulme (W)*	1656	IP	C	Gentleman	M-UMF
Rev J V Hymers	2798			Priest of St. Joseph's	RC
William Sutton	1840	M		Grocer	CE
William Wade	1618	P		Earthenware manufacturer	
Thomas Wardle**	2139	M		Chemist & Druggist	CE
Henry Wilby	3910	IP	La	House painter	

* Resigned and was replaced in July 1895 by:

Samuel Gibson	P	Earthenware manufacturer	C
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** Resigned and was replaced in September 1897 by:

William Oldham	M	C	Chemist and Druggist	CE
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1898-1901

Rev Alfred Campion	3500	M		Vicar of Sneyd	CE
Alfred Capper	2757	P		Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
Enoch Edwards*	3929	P	L	Miners' agent (T. U.)	M-P
Rev J V Hymers	3112			Priest of St. Joseph's	RC
Sydney Malkin	2964	P	L	Tile manufacturer	M-W
William Sutton**	2925	M		Grocer	
George Wade	C 3717	P	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Henry Wilby	2851	IP	La	Beerhouse keeper	
Thomas Willett	VC 3214	IP	L	Engineer	C

* Resigned and was replaced in July 1899 by:

Thomas Edwards	P	L	Ovenmen's agent (T.U.)
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** Resigned and was replaced in October 1899 by:

William Oldham	M	C	Chemist & Druggist	CE
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1901-1903

Abram Banner	1804	I		Earthenware manufacturer	
Rev G B Bardsley	1639	M		Curate of Sneyd	CE
Sarah Benett	4112		La	Spinster	
Alfred Capper	1963	P		Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
Joseph Dawson	2457	P	L	Printer & Stationer	M-UMF
Thomas Edwards	3187	P		Ovenmen's agent (T.U.)	
Rev J V Hymers	4221			Priest of St. Joseph's	RC
Sydney Malkin	2800	P	L	Tile manufacturer	M-W
George Wade	C 4413	P	L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Henry Wilby	4049	IP	La	Grocer & Beerhouse keeper	
Thomas Willett	VC 3783	IP	L	Engineer	C

Chapter IV - Appendix II

Members of the Education Committees 1903-19101903-1906

Ald Enoch Edwards*		P L	Miners' agent (T.U.)	M-P
Ald Thomas Edwards		P	Ovenmen's agent (T.U.)	
Cllr J W Brindley**	VC	L	Timber merchant	M-W
Cllr Alfred Capper***		P	Earthenware manufacturer	M-P
Cllr William Cartlidge		L	Oven builder	M-P
Cllr Samuel Finney		L	Miners' agent (T.U.)	M-P
Cllr Samuel Gibson	VC	L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
Cllr William Lovatt****			Tailor & Outfitter	
Cllr Thomas Mitchell			Tailor & Outfitter	M-W
Cllr Thomas Willett	C	P L	Engineer	C
Mrs M Alcock				CE
George Baddeley			Headmaster - Hill Top	C
J C Bailey*****			Potters' manager	
Rev J V Hymers			Priest of St. Joseph's	RC
Sydney Malkin*****		P L	Tile manufacturer	M-W
William Oldham		M C	Chemist & Druggist	CE

* Resigned and was replaced in June 1904 by:

Cllr A E Lovatt La

** Resigned and was replaced in November 1905 by:

Cllr Frederick Averill Grocer

*** Resigned and was replaced in December 1904 by:

Cllr J P Brodie Accountant & Estate agent

**** Resigned and was replaced in April 1904 by:

Cllr Noah Parkes Printers & Transferrers' agt

***** Resigned and was replaced in February 1905 by:

John Arrowsmith Earthenware manufacturer M-W

***** Resigned and was replaced in December 1904 by:

Rev G B Bardsley Curate CE

1906-1910

Ald Sydney Malkin		P L	Tile manufacturer	M-W
Cllr Frederick Averill			Grocer	
Cllr J P Brodie*			Accountant & Estate agent	
Cllr Samuel Finney		L	Miners' agent	M-P
Cllr Thomas S Green			Grocer & Baker	CE
Cllr Thomas Mitchell	VC		Tailor & Outfitter	M-W
Cllr Noah Parkes			T U agent/Manager Lab Exch	
Cllr Daniel Porter**			Insurance agent	
Cllr W E Robinson		L	Potters' merchant	M-NC
Cllr George Wade	C	P L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Mrs M Alcock				CE
H T Arrowsmith		L	Earthenware manufacturer	M-W
Rev G B Bardsley			Curate	CE
J W Bennett				
Samuel Gibson***		L	Earthenware manufacturer	C
Rev J V Hymers****			Priest of St. Joseph's	RC

* Resigned and was replaced in November 1908 by:

Cllr Henry Saunders Grocer & Baker

** Resigned in July 1910

*** Resigned and was replaced in September 1908 by:

Cllr J H Broadhurst C Builder & Contractor CE

**** Resigned and was replaced in February 1908 by:

Rev William Browne Priest of St. Joseph's RC

Schools of the School Board and the Education Committee

Longport

It opened in January 1875 in the schoolrooms of the Wesleyan Chapel, Clarence Street mostly for infants. They moved into new buildings which opened on 30th July 1877. In 1887 all children above Standard IV were transferred to Middleport. Enlarged in 1893 and re-opened as mixed and infants on 8th January 1894.

Hill Top

It opened in the schoolrooms of the Burslem Sunday School on 15th March 1875. The new building was opened on 25th March 1879. Enlargements were carried out in 1880 and 1893.

Newport Street

It opened on 9th August 1875 in Mr. Copeland's schoolrooms and closed on 22nd November 1881 when pupils were transferred to Middleport.

North Road, Cobridge

It opened in a new building on 14th August 1876. It was altered for mixed and infants and re-opened on 1st November 1903.

Middleport

A new building, boys, girls and staff were transferred from Hill Top on 7th May, 1877 and infants from 16th July 1877. It was enlarged in December 1877 and in 1879, and 1883-4. A junior mixed department was opened from 28th April 1884 to 1st November 1897.

Milton

A new building was opened for boys only on 10th January 1881. Girls and infants were the responsibility of the Norton School Board until 31st March 1896, when Burslem took over. The County Council took responsibility for all Milton schools in November 1903.

Park Road

Infants moved into a new building on 4th November 1895, they were joined by Standard I on 9th December 1895, the mixed department opened on 13th April 1896. To relieve overcrowding the infants moved to the school-rooms of the Primitive Methodist Chapel, Hamill Road from July 1900. The Standard I boys and Standards I and II girls also used other schoolrooms at the chapel while the main building underwent alterations from 1903-1904. They returned on 1st February 1904.

Sneyd Green

A new building for mixed and infants was opened on 7th January 1901.

Jackfield

An infants school - it took the infants from Park Road from 1st February 1904.

Granville

Taken over by the Board on 9th November 1891. Enlarged and altered in 1892 and 1898. Became mixed and infants on 1st November 1899.

Central

The former Wesleyan Day School, taken over from 1st November 1901. The building proved inadequate and a new school was opened in 1911, the Manual Instruction Block being opened on 1st November 1910.

Church of England Schools

St. John's National

Built in 1817, in three departments - boys, girls, infants. New building - foundation stone laid 30th January 1896, consecration by the Bishop 26th November 1896.

St. Paul's National

Built in 1836, took boys, girls and infants. Branch school for infants in Liverpool Road by 1867 to 1879 when main building enlarged. Infants removed to the Hope Mission in Shirley Street in 1908, and boys and girls departments became a mixed department.

Sneyd National

School in existence from 1857 in temporary accommodation, but closed in 1860's. New building erected in 1867 and opened 6th January 1868, in two departments, boys, and girls with infants, became mixed and infants by 1892.

Cobridge National

Used room in former Cobridge Free School from 1850 until new buildings completed in 1856. Enlarged in 1884. Began as boys, girls with infants, became three departments, finally was mixed and infants.

Roman Catholic Schools

St. Peter's, Cobridge

Built in 1821/1822, had boys, girls and infants, then all were merged until 1852 when a separate boys department was set up. In 1859 all the pupils were in one department. There was an infants school in Nile Street from February 1865 to 1874. In 1882 it was enlarged. A new building was opened in 1906, with mixed and infants.

St. Joseph's

Built in 1879 and opened in June 1898 for mixed and infants.

Other Schools

Wesleyan Day School

Apparently opened in 1814 in buildings dating from 1789. New school erected in 1850 and opened in 1851 for boys and girls, infants added in 1853. Enlarged in 1884. Taken over by the School Board on 1st November 1901 as boys, and girls and infants. In 1907 a separate infants department was constituted. In 1911 moved to the Central School on Moorland Road.

Ragged School

In existence in 1850 in Bo'rne's Bank and supported by the Wesleyans. In 1869 they moved to the former Baptist Chapel on High Street and it was still in existence in 1907.

Burslem Free School

Founded in 1749, 27 acres of land and a messuage at Ipstones Edge were purchased and yielded £22-10-0 p.a. A school-house was purchased. In 1832 a new school was built, about 1849 it became dilapidated through mining operations and the school moved back to the old building. In 1857 it was closed, though Rev. P. B. Ellis had run the school in his parsonage under the name 'The Burslem School' and had been in charge since 1845. It was re-established with new trustees and apparently in use in 1861 and closed by 1868.

Burslem Endowed School

Successor to the Free School. In March 1872 the Endowed School Commissioners issued a new scheme of management. The school used the Wedgwood Institute, in 1880 moved to Longport Hall, by 1892 were in Cobridge House, Cobridge Road. In 1898 in a new scheme the Charity Commissioners set up the Burslem Exhibition . Endowment and the School was closed.

Burslem High School for Girls

Established in 1880 in the Wedgwood Institute. By 1892 had moved to Wycliffe Hall. It was not mentioned in 1907.

Shelton Granville School

Owned by the East Granville and the Shelton Bar Iron Company it was opened 24th April 1854, for boys, girls, and infants. School Board took over on 9th November 1891. Enlarged in 1892 and 1898. Became mixed and infants 1899.

Cobridge Collegiate School

It moved from Tunstall in 1874 and provided boarding and day education for boys up to 18 years old. It moved to Penkridge in 1883.

Chapter IV - Appendix IV

	Board Schools			Voluntary Schools			Totals		
Year Ended	O.R.	A.A.	%	O.R.	A.A.	%	O.R.	A.A.	%
1st Oct. 1879	2866	1868	65.1	3492	2376	68	6358	4244	66.6
1880	2942	1962	66.6	3388	2344	69.1	6330	4306	68
1881	3157	2106	66.7	3396	2303	67.8	6553	4409	67.2
1882	3120	2171	69.5	3458	2325	67.2	6578	4496	68.3
1883	3079	2119	68.8	3365	2318	68.8	6444	4437	68.8
1884	3059	2386	77.9	3263	2338	71.6	6322	4724	74.7
1885	2995	2247	75	3202	2327	72.6	6197	4574	73.8
1886	3013	2337	77.5	3277	2348	77.5	6290	4685	74.4
1887	3010	2386	79.2	3164	2406	76	6174	4792	77.6
1888	3042	2342	76	3282	2395	72.9	6324	4737	74.9
1889	3105	2293	73.8	3259	2340	71.8	6364	4633	72.8
1890	3120	2444	78.3	3227	2411	74.7	6347	4855	76.4
1891	3192	2437	76	3369	2436	72.3	6561	4873	74.2
1892	4088	3226	78.8	2782	2145	77.1	6870	5370	78.1
1893	3968	3180	80.1	2832	2242	79.2	6800	5422	79.7
1894	4227	3391	80.2	2851	2292	80.3	7078	5683	80.2
1895	4026	3520	87.6	2841	2304	81.1	6867	5824	84.8
1896	4938	4111	83.2	2793	2200	78.4	7731	6311	81.6
1897	5219	4357	83.4	2801	2283	81.5	8020	6640	82.7
1898	5264	4631	87.9	2897	2549	87.9	8161	7180	87.9
1899	5277	4695	88.9	2937	2644	90.1	8209	7339	89.4
1900	5354	4686	87.5	3153	2587	82	8507	7273	85.4
1901	6029	5275	87.4	3005	2583	89.9	9034	7858	86.9

From:- Burslem School Board Year Book 1900-1901

Key A.A. - Average Attendance O.R. - On Rolls % - Percentage

THE POOR

The poor were the aged, the sick, the infirm, the mentally deficient or disturbed and children, abandoned or orphaned, There were also the feckless and improvident much noticed at the time. At times there were also large numbers of unemployed due to trade depressions. To deal with these people there were the friendly societies in which the employed and earning could contribute and hope for benefits in time of hardship. There were also relief agencies of the churches, notably the Wesleyans, and in very bad times special relief funds could be set up. Official efforts were the result of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 which set up Boards of Guardians, their paid officials, the relieving officers and collectors of the poor rate, and in the background, the Workhouse.

The Application of the Poor Law

In 1838 the parish of Burslem was linked with the parish of Wolstanton to form the Wolstanton and Burslem Poor Law Union. It covered a wide area in the north of the Potteries, Burslem parish included the township of Burslem with Longport and Dalehall, the ville of Rushton Grange which included Cobridge, the hamlet of Sneyd and the lordship of Abbey Hulton which included parts of Milton and Sneyd Green and was a mainly rural area. Wolstanton parish included Tunstall, Chell, Kidsgrove and Goldenhill, Wolstanton and Silverdale. Each parish was represented by eight Guardians who met as one body but the administration of each parish was organised separately from 1857 with relief committees, overseers, collectors of rates and relieving officers.¹ However, a joint workhouse was erected, Burslem's old parish workhouse was let to the army as a barracks. The Army left in 1851, but the Guardians did

1. Wolstanton and Burslem Minutes 21 April 1857.

not resume possession until 1 January 1856, then it was eventually sold and was turned into an earthenware manufactory.² The Union workhouse was built between 1838 and 1839 for 400 paupers and over the years cost about £12,000.³ It was erected at Chell and was somewhat remote from most of the population. There were offices in Burslem for the clerk and relieving officers and board meetings in the 1850s were held alternately at the Workhouse and in Burslem.

The Workhouse provided indoor relief but was intended to discourage people from applying for relief in the hope that they would be forced to make their own arrangements and lessen the burden on the poor rates. This policy was not unsuccessful, in most years the workhouse was only half or two-thirds full and there were cases of people suffering or dying rather than go to the workhouse. In 1856 the Holland family had been reduced to dry bread as food, but Mr Holland refused to take his wife and three children to the workhouse, Mrs Holland developed a bad cold and died in the Infirmary.⁴ In another case a two-year old boy died from the lack of "proper and sufficient sustenance". His father was a bricklayer's labourer and had been out of work for some months but objected to applying for parochial relief and did not know how to apply for medical help. After the inquest the coroner and jury contributed 20 shillings to the family.⁵

In 1854 the Master of the workhouse reported that the great majority of inmates were "sick, aged, idiotic and children".⁶ To look after these people there was a Master and Matron in charge, they were a married couple, for the children there was a school master and a school mistress, there was also a nurse and an infant nurse, a baker, a cook, a porter and a hostler. There were tailors' and shoemakers' shops in the workhouse as well as oakum picking and some of the men seemed to have worked outside

2. Wolstanton and Burslem Minutes 1 Jan 1856, 5 May 1857

3. Wolstanton and Burslem Poor Law Union Minutes 6 April 1858

4. Staffordshire Advertiser 19 January 1856

5. " " 8 March 1856

6. Wolstanton and Burslem Poor Law Union Minutes 1 July 1854

on the land.

The inmates were given a diet of extreme monotony. For the long term inmates, and though it may not have been deficient in quantity certainly lacked nutritional value especially in the lack of vitamin C. In 1854 an amended diet was implemented after it was decided to discontinue providing hominy with treacle for breakfast. Instead there was bread and oatmeal porridge for breakfast. Dinner consisted of cooked meat and cheese every day though the quantity might have left much to be desired, but potatoes or other vegetables were only provided on Sundays and Mondays, bread was given every day, peas soup on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, rice broth was provided only on a Sunday but rice with milk or treacle was the pudding on the first three days of the week. Supper was bread with broth and porridge made from oatmeal or flour. Men had slightly larger quantities than women, only the aged and infirm were allowed to have tea instead of porridge for breakfast and supper and could have 5 ounces of butter or roast meat dripping a week and a small allowance of sugar. Children under nine did not have a set diet, children between nine and thirteen had the same as the adult women, the sick received food at the discretion of the medical officer.⁷ The provisions were purchased on a quarterly basis after they had been tendered for by local tradesmen. Other supplies were also purchased such as coal, leather, drapery and coffins. In 1855 eight suits of dark blue clothes were bought for the bearers at funerals from the workhouse.⁸ The inmates were provided with clothes, in 1858 it was decided to use a grey frieze cloth for the aged men and the boys, as was used in other workhouses, because it was warmer than moleskin.⁹

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- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 7. | Wolstanton and Burslem Poor Law Union | <u>Minutes</u> | 12 September 1854 |
| 8. | " | " " " " | 27 February 1855 |
| 9. | " | " " " " | 26 January 1858 |

Children were educated in the workhouse, in 1851 there were 23 boys and 24 girls, in 1855 there was an average of 17 boys and 23 girls.¹⁰ The schoolmaster was paid £30 a year, the school mistress £20, plus maintenance in the workhouse. After an inspection in 1854 it was recommended that the following should be purchased, "two Manuals of the Method of Teaching, from the Christian Knowledge Society, two New Testaments with notes, two maps of the British Isles and two maps of Palestine," which gives some idea of the scope of the instruction given, reports on newly appointed staff were made by the chaplain.¹¹ In 1855 the Poor Law Inspector suggested that a District School should be set up at Stafford and be supported by several Unions.¹² He did not receive any response from the Wolstanton and Burslem Union.

Once the children were old enough they were sent out as apprentices, the girls to domestic service, the boys to a trade such as shoemaking. For example, in August 1855 the Guardians received the Report of the Officers and Certificates of Ambrose Lamb, a poor boy of Burslem who was to be bound as an apprentice to Mr William Tomkin of Knutton, a grocer and provision dealer. The boy and his intended master were called before the Board, they stated they were satisfied with each other, the Indentures were read and signed and the common seal of the Board affixed, and Lamb was given a copy of the Holy Scriptures, the same ceremony was enacted for Edmund Davies, an orphan of Burslem who was apprenticed to Mr George Hambleton of Knutton, a shoemaker.¹³ A check was kept on the progress of the apprentices, in December 1855, Henry Barker, a poor boy belonging to the Nantwich Union and apprenticed to Ralph Alcock, a sadler of Burslem, appeared before the Guardians.

10. 1851 figures from the Census, 1855 figures from W & B Minutes
16 January 1855

11. W & B Minutes 26 September 1854

12. " " " 23 October 1855

13. " " " 14 August 1855

He seemed in good health, was decently clad and expressed himself "quite satisfied with his master and his situation".¹⁴ Another boy was not so fortunate, in July 1855 the Master of the Workhouse charged an apprentice's master, John Johnson, a shoemaker of Pitts Hill, with ill-usage, specifically with beating Thomas Lees, an orphan of Burslem. The boy was returned to the workhouse and his indentures were cancelled.¹⁵ The Guardians did not adopt a lenient attitude to the children in the workhouse, they were provided for but there were no treats, in 1858 there was a request that the children be taken for the day to Belle Vue Gardens in Manchester, the request was refused, the reason given was that "the Guardians would not feel justified in allowing such an indulgence as would involve the children being out of the Workhouse later than the usual hour" which seems a feeble excuse but it was enough to stop the idea.¹⁶ The only treat was at Christmas when the children were given cake, tea and fruit at the expense of a benefactor, not necessarily a Guardian. In March 1854 eighty-three children, including boys apprenticed and girls in service as well as those in the workhouse school assembled for presentations of writing desks and work boxes, those in employment had to produce a letter from their employer as to their character and were rewarded if it was satisfactory. The prizes were presented by the Chairman of the Guardians but the cost of the prizes was met from the proceeds of a sale of articles made by a special class of well behaved girls under the Matron. The report of the prize-giving noted that the children "appeared grateful" but perhaps they were thinking of the tea and buns which followed the Chairman's speech.¹⁷ Perhaps they also knew that only six months earlier the Chairman had received a testimonial to mark his fifteen years' association with the Board of Guardians most

14. W & B Minutes 18 December 1855

15. W & B Minutes 31 July 1855

16. W & B Minutes 15 June 1858

17. Staffordshire Advertiser 25 March 1854

of them as Chairman, on the occasion of his move into a new house at Porthill. He had been given a silver tea kettle, a gold snuff box and a time-piece suitably inscribed.¹⁸ The only treat that all the inmates had was a Christmas dinner, supervised by the Guardians and paid for out of subscriptions.

Apart from the Christmas treat, the life of the inmates contained no pleasures and whilst the able-bodied had some hope of leaving the workhouse, the majority of the inmates were those who had no prospect of leaving because they were too old, too ill or too feeble-minded to cope with the outside world. The number of lunatics in the workhouse is not known, but between January 1854 and October 1858 only one visit was paid to the workhouse by a Commissioner in Lunacy as an inspection.¹⁹ He gave a favourable report though queried whether one particular inmate should be transferred to the County Lunatic Asylum. After a report by the medical officer it was decided to transfer that inmate because he had to be occasionally "secluded" for violence, because he had frequent and violent attacks of epilepsy when he was a danger to himself and others. The County Asylum charged 7s9d a week for maintenance from 25 December 1857, and if members of the lunatic's family were able to contribute towards this charge they were expected to do so. In March 1858 it was ordered that Samuel Ikin be sent to prison unless he paid 20s and agreed to pay 2s 6d per week for a month and afterwards to pay up all arrears for the maintenance of his wife in the Lunatic Asylum.²⁰ There were sometimes problems when people were discharged from the Asylum, in 1857 Joseph Tallors, a labourer, appealed to the Guardians for help, his wife had been discharged but had got into the habit of wandering about, he wanted the Guardians to take her into the workhouse or to send someone to take charge of her. The Guardians were unable

18. Staffordshire Advertiser 10 September 1853

19. W & B Minutes 17 November 1857

20. W & B Minutes 9 March 1858

to help him because they could not keep her in the workhouse unless she was declared insane and as she had been discharged from the Lunatic Asylum she was presumably not thought to be insane.²¹ The Guardians did pay infrequent visits to see their lunatics in the asylum, a report on a visit in 1858 stated that they had found them clean and well attended to but very few were better or likely to be so and only one was transferred to the workhouse.²²

The workhouse had to cope with other people besides idiots and harmless lunatics. In 1855 there was a recommendation in the workhouse visitor's book that prostitutes should be kept apart from the other inmates. The following month it was decided to use the Female Vagrant Ward as a workroom for "women of loose character and bad conduct" and that they should pick oakum.²³ This resolution does not seem to have been put into practice as three years later the newly appointed master of the workhouse was complaining of difficulty in managing these women as the lack of a separate department meant they were a source of annoyance to the well conducted inmates. It was decided to try to keep them out of the workhouse; instead of giving them indoor relief, they were to be offered work in the Tramp Room of picking oakum at 2d a pound, at the end of the day they were to be paid their wages according to the certificate of the porter or task master. This change in policy, of not giving indoor relief, was queried by the Poor Law Board several weeks later who wanted all cases of this nature to be referred for their consideration and sanction, a move which seems to have stopped the scheme.²⁴

The insistence on providing indoor relief precluded the Guardians from assisting people to emigrate. In 1858 there was an application from 17 able-bodied men in the workhouse, two of them with families, making 22 persons, for assistance in emigrating to Canada, the Cape and Australia.

21. W & B Minutes 16 June 1857

22. " " Minutes 7 Sept 1858

23. " " Minutes 13 March 1855, 10 April 1855

24. " " Minutes 9 Feb 1858, 20 April 1858, 4 May 1858

Their request was declined. At the same meeting there was an application for assistance from a John Dukes and his wife to take three children, of whom they were uncle and aunt, and whose father had deserted them, to America. They too were refused.²⁵

The most difficult disutation that the Poor Law Union had to cope with was a trade depression which put many people out of work. Such a situation occurred in the early part of 1855 in Burslem. The first indication of unusual distress in the district came at the Burslem Board of Health Meeting in the first week of January 1855 when the Rector of Burslem, Rev C Hebert, met the Board to press for some action, they discussed the possible remedies, such a soup kitchens, additional outdoor relief and even whether the proposed sewerage scheme should be deferred because of the cost, but nothing definite was decided.²⁶ The Wesleyan Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Scoiety reported that they were facing an increased demand on their funds.²⁶ At this stage it was left to individuals to organise relief measures. In the latter half of January, Samuel Gleaves, a boot and shoe maker, established a soup kitchen and on 30 January 720 quarts of soup were distributed and on 1 February 1400 quarts and 120 loaves of bread were distributed. Mr Gleaves paid for the first week out of his own pocket, afterwards fellow townsmen contributed 6d each, and he had the free use of the public boiler in the Market. A public meeting to discuss the situation was called by the Chief Bailiff, John Maddock, at the request of the Rector, but only one person turned up, apart from Maddock and Hebert, and he was James Vernon, a member of the Board of Health. This extremely feeble response was attributed to the wealthier inhabitants being of the opinion that the time had not come for measures to be taken, another factor may have been the recent fund raising for the Royal Patriotic Fund for which Burslem and Cobridge had contributed about £1000.²⁷

25. W & B Minutes 26 January 1858

26. Staffordshire Advertiser 6 January 1855

27. " " 3 February 1855, 10 February 1855

The Board of Guardians did not discuss the matter until the meeting of 30 January although they had met on 2 January and 16 January. It was brought up by John Maddock who was a member of the Board of Guardians as well as the Local Board of Health. The Chairman of the Guardians, George Baker, replied that he had made inquiries about a special effort to meet the distress and suggested applying to the Poor Law Board for the suspension of the Prohibitory Order so the Guardians could relieve the able-bodied at the workhouse, but their families at home.²⁸ A fortnight later they had the reply from the Poor Law Board who said that if the workhouse was full then they would issue the Guardians with the Outdoor Labour Test Order by which they could set the able-bodied to work in return for relief, but as the workhouse was not full the Board was not prepared to allow any systematic administration of Outdoor relief. This meant that no special assistance could be provided and the matter was thrown back on private charity.²⁹

On 8 February the Rector judged it time to call another public meeting, this meeting was attended by some sixty people and the Burslem Relief Fund was established. It was to take over the soup kitchen from Mr Gleaves and his helpers who had distributed 1400 quarts of soup to 500 families on 6 February and on the day of the meeting supplied soup and bread to 400 of Tuesday's families and 200 fresh applicants but 100 of Tuesday's list were left empty-handed because the supply ran out. It was calculated that more than 2600 people were relieved on each occasion.

The Relief Fund was to provide a month's supply of soup, by means of a subscription, and the coal masters of the district were to be asked to donate coal and cannel*. The Fund was administered by a committee consisting of the clergy and ministers of other denominations, medical gentlemen and scripture readers, the treasurer was John Ward, a solicitor

28. W & B Union Minutes 30 January 1855

29. " " " Minutes 13 February 1855

* a type of coal.

and local historian, the secretaries were Thomas Pinder, an earthenware manufacturer and William Meadows, a scripture reader at St Paul's. The committee was to be assisted by Elias Barlow, the relieving officer of the Union, in deciding who should receive assistance. The following week the Committee reported on a large scale canvass of the town, donations were mainly of money, but a bag of peas and a bag of sago were contributed. The appeal to the coal masters had produced 20 to 50 tons from each, a sub-committee was to sit twice a week to receive the applications and examine them individually with the relieving officer and one of the overseers to assess the assistance based on the number of the family, the amount of wages and the amount of parochial relief received. If a family was on full parochial relief then the Relief Fund only provided coal at the rate of a hundredweight a week. The amount of wages had to be taken into consideration because many of the manufacturers were continuing to employ men for part of the week rather than close down completely. This examination of the applications reduced the cases by a third, the others being on parish relief, but the remaining 500 were to receive bread and soup twice a week. The report did not forbear to mention that the suffering was a warning to those who had been extravagant or improvident in time of prosperity.³⁰

Towards the end of February, the number receiving help increased and the soup and bread were distributed four times a week instead of twice, there were 560 cases on the relief list and nearly £250 had been raised and 200 tons of coal donated. At the committee meeting of 26 February "cases were mentioned of the noble independence" of working men declining to come upon the funds, or "resigning their ticket when not requiring it."³¹

30. Staffordshire Advertiser 11 February 1855, 24 February 1855

31. " " 3 March 1855

The distribution of food was still taking place at the end of March and was expected to continue until mid-April. The crisis seems to have passed by then, but the Medical Officer of the Board of Health reported a continuing high rate of mortality in April.³² The distress of the months of January, February and March was worsened by the harsh winter weather experienced that year. The Guardians provided what Outdoor relief that they could but the workhouse was only about half full during this period, even when over 2000 people were receiving some relief. This episode shows that the Guardians were unable to cope with large scale distress on an outdoor relief basis, whether they wished it or not. In these cases recourse had to be made to private charitable efforts though these were somewhat slow to start.

The Board of Guardians consisted of eight members from Burslem and eight members from Wolstanton, though the number of Guardians from Wolstanton parish did increase over the years. An annual election was held in April but it was not always contested. In 1850 neither parish had a contested election, in 1851 and 1852 only Burslem parish had a contest, 1854, 1855 and 1856 saw uncontested elections, Burslem had a contest in 1857, both parishes had a contest in 1858, Wolstanton had a contest in 1859, both parishes had a contest in 1860 when one Guardian was elected in both parishes. The chairman for the period 1848 to 1863 was George Baker, he had been a Guardian since the Union was founded in 1838 and he had been vice-chairman or chairman for most of that early period except for the very few occasions when he was not a Guardian. Baker was a wine and spirit merchant with a successful

32. Staffordshire Advertiser 31 March 1855, 7 April 1855

business based on the Market Place, Burslem.³³ In 1853 he moved into Bradwell House, Wolstanton where he remained until his death in 1871. As well as being a member of the Board of Guardians he had been a Market Commissioner in Burslem and was elected onto the Burslem Local Board of Health for two years, 1850 to 1852. Politically he was a Conservative, in religion he was a member of the Established Church, he was also a keen Freemason. In 1860 he was given a complimentary dinner by the Guardians and he surveyed the changes over the twenty-two years since the formation of the Union. He considered that the new Poor Law had made a considerable improvement on the previous situation. He thought that the introduction of tests and the system of relieving officers, who could provide background data on applicants for relief, made the job of the Guardians much easier as they could decide on the basis of facts and not on feelings. He was fulsome in his praise of the Commissioners of the Poor Law Board "he knew of no body of men who exercised their authority with greater benefit to the public." Although he was a Conservative he approved of centralisation, which in the case of the Poor Law "had been of infinite service."³⁴ However, most of the Guardians' dealings with the Commissioners in London were confined to supplying statistics and receiving approval for salary increases or the confirmation of appointments after a probationary period and a report from the Guardians. The Commissioners also ensured that the Guardians kept within the provisions of the Act, we have already seen

33. Baker (1796 - 1871) In addition, he was a director of the Staffordshire Potteries Waterworks Co, and of the Burslem and Turnstall Gas Co. He was a Trustee of the Staffordshire Potteries Benefit Building Society, a local director of the Manchester and Liverpool District Bank.

For many years he was secretary to the Burslem Auxiliary of the Bible Society. Baker was churchwarden at Burslem Parish Church and Wolstanton Parish Church. He was a member of the committee of the N. Staffs branch of the Manchester School for the Deaf and Dumb. As a Freemason he was Treasurer of Sutherland Lodge, Burslem and PPGSW of Staffordshire, five times W.M. of the Lodge, also a Royal Arch Mason.

Died at Bradwell House and left £35,000, his estate included land at Langport which brought in an estimated annual rental of £681-7-0.

that they were not allowed to relax the provisions on outdoor relief at a time of distress, nor were they allowed to adopt a different method for dealing with prostitutes, that was stopped by applying purely bureaucratic methods, dealing with each prostitute via London was no way of coping with them when they were waiting on the doorstep of the workhouse.

The Guardians met fortnightly, alternately in the Workhouse and in the offices in Burslem, but attendance in the 1850s was not very good, only a half or even a quarter attended, though there were also meetings of the Relief Committee in between Board meetings. In the ten years 1850 to 1859 inclusive, only George Baker and C B May were on every Board, three men were members of eight out of ten boards, four were members of seven out of ten, one a member of six boards, six of four boards, eleven of two boards and eleven of one board, so many of the Guardians were not experienced in the job, though the new members always had the presence of experienced members to rely on, and were often members of the Local Board of Health as well. Of the Burslem Guardians manufacturers of china and earthenware predominated, again in the period 1850-59, of the eight members four or five of them were always such manufacturers, of the others there was a wine merchant, a colliery proprietor, two builders, a coal and iron master, an iron-monger and a draper, over the years.

The Guardians were either members of the Established Church or if they were nonconformists were nearly always Wesleyan Methodists in this period of the 1850s.

Certain standards of behaviour were called for from those in receipt of relief, in November 1855 the minutes report that the Board had "investigated the case of Mary Ann Green . . . whose husband is a soldier

34. Staffordshire Advertiser 2 June 1860 - This was after a complimentary dinner so Baker may have been more generous in his praise than he might have been on another occasion.

and they were satisfied as to certain improprieties of conduct and ordered her into the workhouse."³⁵ Even in the workhouse standards were watched, in March 1856 the porter had to resign because the Master of the workhouse, as a result of information he had received, had gone to the Porter's office and finding a light in the Boardroom had gone in and found Margaret Bradshaw "a person of questionable character" sitting by the fire, the Porter explained that she had come to see him. Both were sent away and the Porter was dismissed.³⁶

In spite of the aims of the Act considerable numbers continued to receive outdoor relief. In October 1856 there were 205 paupers receiving indoor relief and 712 receiving outdoor relief, in May 1858, 284 paupers were in the workhouse and 810 were on outdoor relief.³⁷ By 1884 there were 253 paupers in the workhouse but 2018 were receiving outdoor relief in the first week of January.³⁸ In May 1900 there were 299 inmates and 1855 in receipt of outdoor relief, by April 1910 the number in the workhouse had gone up to 585 but the number receiving outdoor relief was 2054.³⁹ Outdoor relief was usually a mixture of cash and bread; in 1849 Sophia Whitmore, a widow, told William Lee, in the course of his preliminary enquiry into the sanitary condition of Burslem, that she received a four-pound loaf, as did her sick daughter, and she had one shilling a week, but the rent for her cottage in the particularly nasty area of the Flash was 1s 6d, though her landlord did not press her for the money and her daughter earned 5s a week when she was well. Mrs Whitmore herself was not in good health, she was 69 and had rheumatism and had to go to the parish doctor for medical assistance. In 1884 the average cost per pauper on outdoor relief was about one (5p) shilling per week.⁴⁰

35. W & B Union Minutes 6 November 1855

36. " " " " 11 March 1856

37. " " " " 21 October 1856, 4 May 1858

38. Staffordshire Advertiser 12 January 1884

39. " " " 12 May 1900, 9 April 1910

40. Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Enquiry into the Sewerage, drainage and supply of water and the sanitary condition of the inhabitants of Burslem Workhouse. P. 21.

Matters had not changed greatly from the 1850s at the turn of the century, there were more Guardians, to allow for the increased population, though Burslem had only one extra member so there were three from each ward of the municipal borough, Wolstanton parish had four members for Tunswall, two for Chell, two for Chesterton, two for Silverdale and one each for Goldenhill, Kidsgrove, Milton and Newchapel. The number of staff employed by the Union had increased considerably, the clerk was the son of the previous clerk, but unlike his father who was also clerk to the Local Boards of Burslem and Tunstall, he made it a full-time job. The rates collection was organised by a superintendent with five assistants who covered different areas; there were three relieving officers with two assistants, eight medical officers, including one for the workhouse (all part-time). The staff of the workhouse had also increased, the Master and Matron were still in charge but the school teachers had been replaced by trainers for the boys and girls, there was a porter, a laundress, a carter, a housemaid, a part-time organist and chaplain, and to care for the sick there was a superintendent nurse, three nurses, two assistant nurses and three probationer nurses and one infant nurse.⁴¹ These nurses were needed because 174 of the 301 inmates in 1900 were more or less bed-ridden and a total of 243 were aged and infirm.⁴²

Life improved very slightly for the inmates, a fish dinner once a week was sanctioned in 1884, after an experimental period when it proved not to have any harmful effect on the health of the inmates!⁴³ In 1901 a new diet was received from the Local Government Board, and although it was the cheapest of several approved by the Local Government Board, there were still protests from the Guardians, one of whom objected that some of the ratepayers were not in a position to have the things supplied to the inmates, more meat, bread, butter, cheese, fish and tea than before

41. W & B Union Minutes 17 December 1901

42. Staffordshire Advertiser 14 April 1900

43. " " 12 January 1884

44. " " 2 March 1901

and he deprecated the idea of making the house too attractive. It was calculated that the new diet would cost an extra £5.18s.1d. per week or £300 p.a.⁴⁴ In fact the numbers in the workhouse did increase, in 1901 there were 372, in 1909 there were 616, in 1910 585 which was overcrowding the building.⁴⁵ Unlike the 1850s soap was purchased and tobacco but not everything necessarily reached the inmates. In 1903 the Guardians investigated the giving of dripping instead of butter by the Master. The Master's explanation was accepted and he was only required to make the necessary adjustments in the books (so the Union did not pay for the butter that had not been used) and promised to adhere to the dietary tables in future.⁴⁶ Keeping a check on possible abuses was not easy, the Poor Law Inspector only made an official visit about once a year, though the comments in the Visitor's book were considered at each meeting of the Guardians but there had to be an honest and reliable workhouse Master to see to the proper running of the workhouse.

The policy towards children was undergoing revision. In 1900 there were 34 children, including infants, in the workhouse and there were others in children's homes in Birmingham, Dudley and Colwyn Bay. In 1902 one of the Guardians prepared a report on the various methods of caring for the children, first assuming that a home and not a workhouse was the best place in which to rear a child. Schemes for providing this home included boarding out, the use of small industrial schools, the use of homes supported by charitable persons, the Sheffield scattered homes system and supervised emigration to Canada. On grounds of cost alone the drafting of the children to Canada was the most favoured method, it was assessed that boarding out would cost £80 for six years whilst emigration would cost £18 that is £12 for the passage and fitting out and £1 a year for six years for supervision in Canada.⁴⁷

45. 1901 figures from the Census.

1909 and 1910 - Staffordshire Advertiser 9 April 1910

46. W & B Union Minutes 28 July 1903

47. " " " " 18 November 1902

In the event only a very few children agreed to go to Canada with organisations such as the Birmingham Diocesan Rescue Society. In July 1903 a report was received from a Canadian Immigration Officer on the progress of Henry Gilman, aged 17, who had been placed with a farmer in Quebec, he was apparently getting on splendidly, was well-behaved and a stout, healthy youth and was being paid \$48 a year.⁴⁸ However, in 1909 the Guardians decided to adopt the Sheffield Scattered Homes system, largely at the instigation of Fred Hayward.⁴⁹ This system involved a receiving home where the children spent a probationary period before being transferred to a small house. The home was in the charge of a foster mother, helped by a working boy or girl, the children went to a local elementary school and the intention was to make their lives as similar as possible to those of the surrounding working people. The first home, Chell House, was opened on 17 August 1909 and in 1911 in Burslem there were 12 boys and 12 girls with 2 women looking after them in such a home. In Tunstall there were a total of 31 boys and 15 girls with one man and seven women in charge.⁵⁰

Children were sometimes fostered out. Not all applications were successful, in 1901 a Mr S Hill of Shelton offered to take a girl, Catherine Poole, aged 11, for 4s a week plus 10s a quarter for clothes until she was 14, the Stoke Guardians were asked to enquire into the suitability of the home, in the event the child was sent to the Mary Vale Orphanage at Perry Bar, Birmingham.⁵¹ George Smith of Longton offered to take 7 year old Mary Hogan and said that she would be allowed to continue being a Roman Catholic, but the Clerk told him that he should select a Protestant child.⁵² A short while later Mary Hogan's brother

48. W & B Union Minutes 28 July 1903

49. Staffordshire Advertiser 1 January 1910 Fred Hayward (1876-1944), from 1905 was the full-time secretary to the Burslem Co-op Society, lower member of Co Boro' Council of Stoke, Alderman 1913. Mayor 1926, Knight Bachelor 1931. In politics he was Labour, but in 1918 thought that the Co-op Movement should have Parliamentary representation.

50. 1911 figures from the Census.

51. W & B Union Minutes 5 November 1901, 31 December 1901.

52. " " " " 5 November 1901

offered to take in Mary and her sister, this was permitted, subject to the home being a proper one. That was in December 1901 but in May 1903 the two Hogan sisters were at the same Perry Bar orphanage as Catherine Poole and were considered suitable for emigration to Canada if they were willing and the doctor certified them fit to go.⁵³ They were not willing to go with the Catholic Emigration Society. The cost would have been £4 for their outfit, £2 2s 6d for railway fares and passage money with £5 17s 6d for supervision.

Several different children's homes were used, all of them outside the Potteries, except that for blind, deaf and dumb children at The Mount, Stoke. Two other blind schools were used, one in Liverpool and one in Nottingham. Two Roman Catholic homes in Birmingham were used, the Mary Vale Orphanage mentioned earlier and the St Paul's Homes, Coleshill; other homes were the Oakamoor Boys' Home in Colwyn Bay, a home in Dudley and a Dr Barnardo's home and a Dr Stephenson's home. Miss Bolton's home at Colwyn Bay was certified for 37 boys and 4 girls, the children were sent to the Board School for education, to their respective places of worship, and were taught gardening, fancy basket making and mat making in the home.⁵⁴ The Guardians paid visits to the homes, at the Catholic Home, Coleshill the boys belonging to the Union were found to be in a very satisfactory state, one was learning the trade of carpenter, another tailoring and another shoe-making.⁵⁵ Nevertheless supervision was necessarily slight by the Wolstanton and Burslem Union and contact with these children was necessarily limited. However, life was still grim for the children in the workhouse in 1900, the Guardians did allow them to be taken to see the sights of the Wakes and they were given tea at the Burslem Coffee House and received presents of sweets, toys and coppers, though

53. W & B Union Minutes 3 December 1901, 19 May 1903

54. W & B " " 9 September 1902

55. W & B " " 28 July 1903

the outing was opposed by two Guardians who condemned the Wakes as "a disgrace to any civilised country" and therefore not fit for the children.⁵⁶

The other inmates still only had the Christmas dinner which was paid for out of the rates rather than by a subscription, but gifts of flowers and periodicals did brighten the place up a little, though overcrowding was becoming a problem, and was commented upon by the Poor Law Inspector, but nothing seems to have been done.

Attendances by the Guardians had improved from the 1850s. About three-quarters of them went to the fortnightly meetings, held in the Parish offices in Burslem, opened in 1881, and alternately in the Workhouse and Tunstall. The members of the Board changed less frequently, only illness, death or removal from the district saw a Guardian leave the Board. There were fewer pottery manufacturers; of the 1906-07 Board, there were only two manufacturers among the nine Burslem members. Of the others, one was a builder, two were retired, one of whom had been a chemist and druggist, one was the manager of the Burslem Co-operative Society, one may have been an estate agent and one may have been a potter and one's occupation is unidentified.⁵⁷

The organisation of poor relief had changed little in fifty to sixty years. Children were taken out of the workhouse itself and put into children's homes, but the aged, the infirm and the sick poor, together with the harmless lunatics and the idiots continued to live in the workhouse. The able-bodied did avoid the workhouse, in 1900 one Guardian stated that there was not an able-bodied man in the house and only two able-bodied women, yet there were 301 inmates. The aim of the Poor Law Amendment Act was to discourage the able-bodied from seeking indoor relief and it seems to have succeeded in this.

56. Staffordshire Advertiser 7 July 1900

57. Potteries & Newcastle Directory 1907

The other aspect of the 1834 Act was the discontinuance of outdoor relief, but this was not achieved; for every person receiving indoor relief there were five, six, seven, eight or nine persons receiving outdoor relief. Those in the workhouse were people who really had no alternative, who had no family to support them or nurse them or whose family were unable to support them, nor were there the charitable institutions in Burslem which could provide alternative accommodation. Only the sick poor received any assistance in receiving treatment from the Haywood Charity otherwise they had to go to the parish doctor who did not provide any nursing assistance.

Trade slumps were a difficulty for the Poor Law. The Guardians were much restricted in the assistance they could give and it had to be supplemented by charity. The unemployed were sometimes employed on public works, for example, colliers were used on the landscaping work for Burslem Park, opened in 1894, and unemployed labour was used in the laying out of the Cobridge Pleasure Grounds opened in 1911.⁵⁸

Providing for those who were unable to fend for themselves occupied most of the attention of the Guardians and their paid officials, but methods of reducing the numbers of paupers were not entirely ignored. The application by Burslem to become a Local Board of Health area under the Public Health Act of 1848 received strong support from the Board of Guardians. The Chairman, George Baker, stated:

"I have no hesitation in saying that the ratepayers have a very great interest in this question, inasmuch as improved health would decrease the poor rates."⁵⁹

The Guardians appointed their own Inspector of Nuisances after the Nuisances Removal Act until 1854 when the job was transferred to the Collectors of Poor Rates.⁶⁰

58. Staffordshire Advertiser 1 September 1894 and 19 May 1911

59. Report to the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Enquiry &c . . W Lee P.19.

60. W & B Union Minutes 19 December 1854, the date of transfer was 25 December 1854.

Improving conditions was one way of keeping the rates down but Baker said in 1860 that:

"He did not believe there was a single ratepayer who would not condemn the Guardians if they reduced the expenditure to the prejudice of the poor. (Applause) He could assume then that such was not the case, and that there was more liberality shown to the poor of that parish than perhaps any parish in the county. (Applause).⁶¹

The Poor Law was not the only way of dealing with misfortune.

Those who were prudent and provident were encouraged in their self-help by the Friendly Societies. There were many of these societies, but the main ones were the Ancient Order of Foresters, the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds and the various Orders of Oddfellows. The object of these societies and their organisation were much the same though details varied. The objects of the Great Wedgwood Lodge of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, Ashton Unity, as stated in the 1865 Rules, may be taken as fairly representative:

To raise a fund by entrance fees, subscriptions, fines, donations and by the interest arising from the accumulated stock of the above.

1. For insuring a sum of money to be paid on the death of a member, to his widow or relative or for defraying the expenses of interring a deceased member who leaves no legal claimant.
2. For insuring a sum of money to be paid to a member on the death of his lawful wife.
3. For relief of members during sickness and old age.
4. For assisting members in particular distressed circumstances.
5. For granting occasional assistance to the widows and children of deceased members.
6. For paying their Lodge's proportionate quota to render assistance to members of the Unity who are duly authorised to travel in search of employment.

Sick pay can be claimed after six months (contributions) with a Surgeon's certificate and a fresh certificate every fortnight. Sick pay can be claimed after six days off work. No sick pay if the ailment arises from immoral conduct - fighting (except unavoidable self-defence) by contending for any prize or wager, by drunkenness, debauchery, attempting self-destruction or any immoral or improper conduct whatever.

Sick pay - 10s a week for the first 26 weeks, then 5s a week. While in receipt of sick pay the member is now allowed out before 5 a.m. or after 9 p.m. from 21 March to 21 September,

61. Staffordshire Advertiser 2 June 1860

and the rest of the year before 8 a.m. or after 7 p.m. He is strictly prohibited from any unbecoming line of conduct such as tippling, visiting improper places of amusement or indulging in anything contrary to these rules.

A fortnight's pay in advance is allowed for a change of air.

The upper age limit for joining is 40 years.

Not everyone was eligible to join, the District Branch of the Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds, for the Staffordshire Potteries, in their 1899 Rules excluded those suffering from a rupture, loss of sight, or a limb, or who (or whose wife) was of unsound health, or who had a bad character, led an idle or dissolute life and there was no funeral allowance for a deceased wife if the member married a female of unsound health or who was over 40 years. The members had to be of "good character, sound health, over 3 years and not over 38 years." The scale of benefits was graduated according to age, as were the contributions and full benefits were given at 16 years of age. The Friendly Societies had their appointed surgeons, in 1866 the Staffordshire Potteries Friendly Society defined the role of the surgeon:

"The Surgeon should regularly visit and take care of each paying member, in case of sickness, lameness or other affliction (except the venereal disease) with which he may be afflicted, if within 3 miles of the meeting room; also to find proper and sufficient medicine for him during his illness, if he neglect his duties he will be fined 1s for each offence."

The surgeon also had to examine prospective members, who in this society had to be not under 18 or over 36 years.

The societies normally met every fourth week, usually in a public house, for the collection of the subscriptions. Some of them had a fairly elaborate organisation, for example the Great Wedgwood Lodge, A.O.F. had a President known as the Worthy Master (W.M.) and the vice-President was the Deputy Master, there was a Permanent Secretary, an Assistant Secretary, a Committee of Nine, the retiring President was the Past Master, the Minstrel looked after and arranged the furniture

and other property, prepared the Lodge room and replaced the furniture after a meeting and reported any damage. Guardians stood at the entrance and did not admit anyone without the password, nor anyone whilst business was being transacted, nor any intoxicated member.

The societies not only assisted people to provide for periods of sickness or for their families after their death, but they also provided a social life and the running of a society was useful experience for working men, some of whom later went on to apply that experience in other spheres. Enoch Edwards, the miners' leader, had been secretary of the Talke Branch of the Ancient Order of Shepherds and then secretary for the district for fourteen years until 1892, for 12 successive years he was elected to represent the district at annual meetings and for two years had a seat on the Management committee and for two years was auditor.⁶² Most of the societies were organised on a national or regional basis and were well run with many members but not all were successful.

The cost of medical treatment could be a problem, though the very poor could see the parish doctor, Burslem had two doctors retained by the Wolstanton and Burslem Poor Law Union and the cost would be borne by the poor rates. A number of earthenware manufacturing firms had sick clubs which subscribed to the North Staffordshire Infirmary, for example, Anthony Shaw's workpeople subscribed £15 a year and that entitled them to send 14 patients to the Infirmary in a year in 1864, in the same year the workpeople at the Washinton Works subscribed 8 guineas (£8.40.) which entitled them to send four in-patients and four out-patients. The firm of John Maddock & Son asked all its employees to join a sick club and to subscribe regularly to the Infirmary, a subscription added to by the firm and by the twentieth century many of the firms had such sick clubs for their workers.

There were other sick clubs, not based on employment, but not always successful in providing financial help for their sick

62. Local Newscutting Vol 3 P.190. Article of 20.11.1899. reprinted from the Weekly Sentinel.

members. In his evidence to William Lee in 1849 Samuel Goddard described workings and failings:

"There are many friendly or sick societies in the town. The greater part of them are held in public houses. I believe most of them are enrolled with the exception of the secret orders. Many have medical officers. I am connected with a number of them. In few instances is there any medical examination of candidates for admission. The certificate of the medical officer is necessary to enable a sick member to obtain relief, and in some instances to his discharge from the books. The average amount of contribution is 1s 6d to 1s 8d per month and the payments to the sick 6s to 7s per week for six months on the average. If the sickness continues a longer period the pay is diminished to one-half. The usual amount of funeral money is £10. Many of the societies have been broken up because the contributions were not equal to the payments. Some of the clubs have been induced to increase the amount of the contributions and to decrease the amount paid to sick members in order to sustain the society. They have been founded upon principles of sickness. The broken-up societies contained generally many old men who had paid for a great number of years and were then thrown destitute in their old age. Sick societies have a great interest in the sanitary improvement of Burslem. Some of these old men would have no other resource but the parish. Considering the further burdens brought upon the poor rate by the generally excessive rate of mortality in the town and the consequent improvements in the habits of the people, would tend much to decrease the amount of the poor rate."⁶³

The various churches provided some assistance for those in need, the Parish Church had a Sunday School clothing fund, the Wesleyans had the Benevolent and Strangers' Fund which not only gave material help but spiritual guidance as well. There were not many charities in Burslem, the Randle Keay charity provided bread and charity sermons were preached, the Joseph Bucknall charity meant the distribution of £10 amongst the Catholic poor from 1837 to 1870 but from 1880 the fund was transferred to the vicar and churchwardens of Cobridge who distributed the income in goods at Christmas irrespective of creed.⁶⁴

63. Report to General Board of Health on a Preliminary Enquiry . . & W Lee. P.17.

64. Victoria County History Vol 8, P.330.

The Haywood Charity was for the sick poor, at first it provided visiting nurses and paid for convalescence, then the Haywood Hospital was built. Old people and children were given free meals at Christmas and to celebrate special occasions such as the peace celebration at the end of the Crimean War when widows and the infirm were given a "substantial repast." The Dobson's Christmas treat to about 1000 poor children was established by 1900 and was intended to continue after Sir William Warrington Dobson's death in 1941.⁶⁵ Many of the churches and chapels gave meals at Christmas. The Roman Catholics had their own friendly society, the Catholic Brotherly Society.

On 10 January 1877 a 'Society for Organising Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity' was established though it does not seem to have been very widely supported, as its fifth annual report complained. The stated object of the society was "not to make the charitable selfish, but by investigating each case charitable help should be given on sound principles."⁶⁶ This was a very similar attitude to that of the Guardians who had the Relieving Officers to investigate applicants and ensure that the less deserving who shouted the loudest did not receive help at the expense of the more deserving who did not make a fuss.

For the person who was earning and had sufficient income left, after expenses, to save there were provident societies. The Burslem Branch of the North Staffordshire Provident Association was founded in 1849 with an initial 47 members, at the end of 1856 there were 458 members and a capital of £2661 12s 2½d.⁶⁷ The Burslem Provident Society was a self-limiting society which lasted thirteen years

65. Staffordshire Advertiser 6 January 1900 - W W Dobson, Director of Parkers' Brewery Co.

66. Keates's Directory 1892-3, P.135.

67. Staffordshire Advertiser 20 April 1850, 14 February 1857

from 1846 to 1859 in which the savers bought shares on which interest was paid and funds were advanced to members.⁶⁸ Another method of saving was the Burslem Industrial Provident Co-operative Society, this was based on the Rochdale model and was first established in Burslem in 1859 with 170 members and 550 £1 shares, within four months they had bought premises and fitted them up as a store, within six months the number of shareholders had increased to 300 and branches had been opened at Fenton and Stoke, a couple of months later the name had been changed to the Staffordshire Potteries Industrial Provident Co-operative Society, a drapery store had been opened in Burslem and another branch opened in Silverdale.⁶⁹ The Society's aim was to supply "all necessary articles for the working man and his family" without the "evil effects of the old credit system." The Society had several moves of premises, from Mount Street to Hall Street to Navigation Road. It lasted until at least 1875 but is not listed in 1879. The Burslem and District Co-operative Society restarted in 1901 with a copy at 10 Newcastle Street and 200 members who had each subscribed 4s with a promise to make it £1.⁷⁰ By 1907 there were 1400 shareholders with a share capital of £5400, from £175 in the first balance sheet in 1901. The society is still going strong today.

Other provident societies were the Mutual Provident Society with the Burslem branch started in 1848 and based particularly on the Congregational church, the meetings were held in the Congregational schoolrooms and the pastor took the chair.⁷¹ There was also the Burslem Mutual Burial Society, that was founded in 1841 and known as the New United Friendly Burial Society, in 1850

68. Staffordshire Advertiser 14 June 1851, 19 June 1852, 9 July 1853, 10 June 1854, 9 June 1855, 28 June 1856, 6 June 1857, 5 June 1858, 7 May 1859 (final meeting)

69. Staffordshire Advertiser 21 May 1859, 9 July 1859, 10 Sept 1859

70. Burslem in Days Gone By - Burslem & District Co-op Society 1932.

71. Staffordshire Advertiser 5 February 1853, 27 Sept 1856, 3 March 1860.

it changed to the name by which it was well known; by 1907 it had a capital of £128, 477. an increase from £116,518 in 1900, and from £5,500 in 1860. As its name suggests it insured the cost of funerals.⁷²

The Friendly Societies and the Provident Societies enabled the working man to save and provide for an income in times of sickness and for a death and funeral benefit at a time when there was no other method of saving for such eventualities. Robert Glass, who was Grand Master of the St John's Lodge of Oddfellows stated that their object was to "inculcate provident habits and thus raise people in the social scale."⁷³ For those people who were unable to save because they did not have sufficient income to put any aside or because they did not have the habit of saving there was only the Poor Law if they fell on hard times.

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72. Local Newscuttings Vol 8, P.48 from Staffordshire Sentinel 25 March 1914
Staffordshire Advertiser 1 September 1860, 30 June 1900,
Potteries and Newcastle Directory 1907.
73. Staffordshire Advertiser 4 September 1852.

DIETARY OF THE WORKHOUSE 1854

Breakfast

		<u>Bread</u>		<u>Oatmeal Porridge</u>	
<u>Sunday</u>	Men	7	ounces	1½	pints
	Women	6	"	1½	"
<u>Monday</u>	Men	7	ounces	1½	"
	Women	6	"	1½	"
<u>Tuesday</u>	Men	7	"	1½	"
	Women	6	"	1½	"
<u>Wednesday</u>	Men	7	"	1½	"
	Women	6	"	1½	"
<u>Thursday</u>	Men	7	"	1½	"
	Women	6	"	1½	"
<u>Friday</u>	Men	7	"	1½	"
	Women	6	"	1½	"
<u>Saturday</u>	Men	7	"	1½	"
	Women	6	"	1½	"

Dinner

		<u>Cooked</u> <u>Meat</u>	<u>Cheese</u>	<u>Rice</u> <u>Broth</u>	<u>Potatoes</u> <u>or other</u> <u>Vegetables</u>	<u>Bread</u>	<u>Peas</u> <u>Soup</u>	<u>Rice with</u> <u>Milk or</u> <u>Treacle</u>
Sunday	Men	5 oz	2 oz	1½ pts	1½ lb	8 oz	1½ pts	1½ pts
	Women	4 oz	1½ oz	1 pt	1½ lb	6 oz	1 pt	1 pt
Monday	Men	5 oz	2 oz		1½ lb	7 oz	1½ pts	1½ pts
	Women	4 oz	1½ oz		1½ lb	6 oz	1 pt	1 pt
Tuesday	Men	5 oz	2 oz			4 oz	1½ pts	1½ pts
	Women	4 oz	1½ oz			4 oz	1 pt	1 pt
Wednesday	Men	5 oz	2 oz			8 oz		
	Women	4 oz	1½ oz			6 oz		
Thursday	Men	5 oz	2 oz			7 oz		
	Women	4 oz	1½ oz			6 oz		
Friday	Men	5 oz	2 oz			4 oz		
	Women	4 oz	1½ oz			4 oz		
Saturday	Men	5 oz	2 oz			4 oz		
	Women	4 oz	1½ oz			4 oz		

Supper

		<u>Bread</u>	<u>Broth</u>	<u>Oatmeal or Flour Porridge</u>
Sunday	Men	7 ounces	1½ pints	1½ pints
	Women	6 ounces	1 pint	1½ pints
Monday	Men	7 ounces	1½ pints	1½ pints
	Women	6 ounces	1 pint	1½ pints
Tuesday	Men	7 ounces	1½ pints	1½ pints
	Women	6 ounces	1 pint	1½ pints
Wednesday	Men	7 ounces	1½ pints	1½ pints
	Women	6 ounces	1 pint	1½ pints
Thursday	Men	7 ounces	1½ pints	1½ pints
	Women	6 ounces	1 pint	1½ pints
Friday	Men	7 ounces	1½ pints	1½ pints
	Women	6 ounces	1 pint	1½ pints
Saturday	Men	7 ounces	1½ pints	1½ pints
	Women	6 ounces	1 pint	1½ pints

The aged and infirm may be allowed for Breakfast and Supper in lieu of porridge one pint of tea, with 5 ounces of butter or roast meat dripping per week and an allowance of sugar not exceeding ½ ounce to each pint of tea. The children under nine years of age to be dieted at discretion, above nine years and under sixteen years to be allowed the same quantities as women. The sick to be dieted as directed by the medical officers.

APPENDIX II

Friendly Societies 1850-1910

Not all the societies or lodges were in existence throughout the whole period.

Ancient Order of Foresters

Court Morning Star	No	664	Established	
Court Royal Waterloo	No	710	"	1837
* Court Bold Robin Hood	No	828	"	1839
Court	No	851		
Court	No	853		
Court St John	No	1386		
Court Royal Victoria	No	3386	"	1859
* Court Royal Potters			"	1839
* Court Foresters' Child			"	1840

Manchester Unity of Oddfellows

* St John's Lodge - originally No 878	No	93	"	1821
* Perseverance Lodge				

Grand United Order of Oddfellows

* Pride of the Village, Cobridge				
* St John's	No	753	(?)	

*Derby Midland United Order of Oddfellows

British Order of Ancient Free Gardeners

- * Vine Lodge

United Free Gardeners (Hanley District)

Wedgwood Lodge	No	452	"	1839
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Loyal Order of Ancient Shepherds (Ashton Unity)

* Great Wedgwood Lodge	No	1093	"	1864
* Sir Garnet Wolseley Lodge	No	1969	"	1882

*Royal Antedeluvian Order of Buffaloes

Victoria Lodge
Duke of Albany Lodge
Prince of Wales Lodge

Order of Druids

* Port Vale Lodge		Established	1899
* Loyal Wedgwood Lodge	No	1141	

*Hearts of Oak

*Catholic Brotherly Society

Established 1815

Staffordshire Potteries Friendly Society

" 1866

Temperance Friendly Societies:

*Independent Order of Rechabites

Hope of Burslem Tent

No 1223

*Sons of Temperance (North Staffordshire Grand Division)

Wedgwood Sub-Division

No 528

Occupational Friendly Societies:

Labourers' Accident and Burial Society

Carters' Sick Society

Handlers' Sick and Provident Society

Amalgamated Horsemen's Union and Friendly Society

* Member of Burslem & District Amalgamated Friendly Societies - 1910.

Provident Societies

Burslem Provident Society	1846 - 1859
North Staffordshire Provident Association Burslem Branch	1849 -
Christian Mutual Provident Association <u>or</u> Mutual Provident Alliance Association	1848 -
Burslem Mutual Burial Society	1841 -
Burslem Industrial Provident Co-operative Society, then the Staffordshire Potteries Industrial Provident Co-operative Society	1859 - Latter 1870s
Burslem Industrial Co-operative Society	1901 -

CHAPTER VI

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

Overwhelmingly dominant was the pottery industry, not just the manufacture of china and earthenware goods but the preparation of the raw materials and the other ancillary industries, such as the manufacture of colours and glazes. Connected with the pottery industry but not dependent on it was coal-mining, which underwent a decline after 1870, but not so the engineering industry which became established as a local industry.

Other manufacturing enterprises were those supplying the household and personal needs of the local population. Those included the making of clothes and boots, and the preparation of foodstuffs. There was also the retail trade and the professions providing a service for the people. Thus all stages of the economy were represented, from the primary stage of the use of natural resources by the miners and clay-getters and farmers, to the secondary stage of manufacturing industry, making use of local and other raw materials to make a finished end product, to the tertiary stage of the provision of services instead of goods.

There were a number of changes over the years, around 1850 most of the goods used by people were made locally on a small scale, by the beginning of the twentieth century ready-made goods from factories elsewhere were increasingly common and the chain-stores had arrived. There was considerable technological innovation, and the introduction of powered machinery into industry during this period changed working conditions and legislation also had its effect on the use of children in industry.

The Pottery Industry

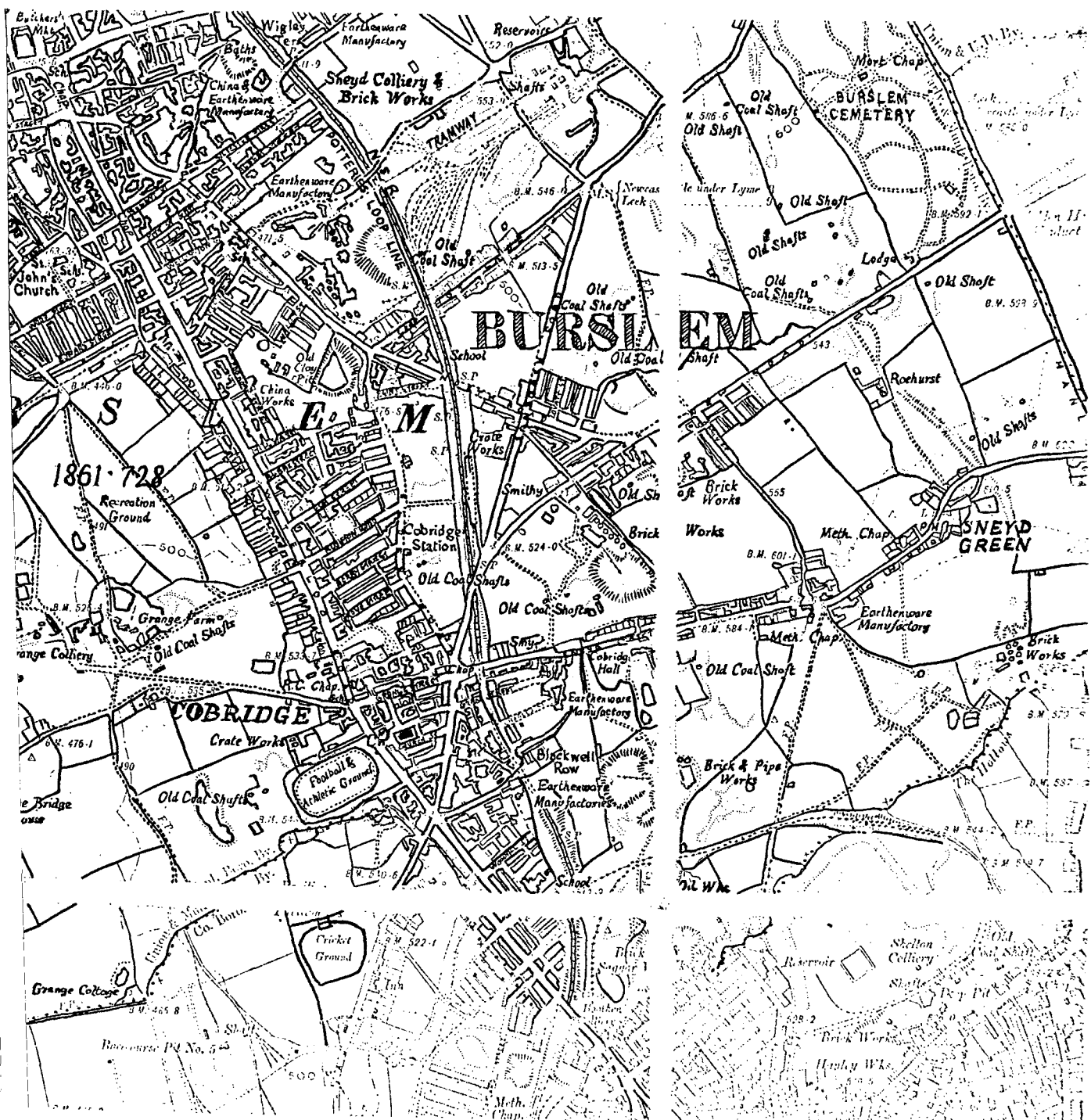
Beginning as one of many districts in Britain which made fairly coarse domestic pottery, by the nineteenth century the Staffordshire Potteries was well-established as the major centre for the industry in the country. There was a wide range of products from bricks to household earthenware to fine china to ornamental porcelain. Not only was the home market supplied, but many firms sent much of their production overseas, especially to the United States.

All aspects of the industry were represented in Burslem, bricks, roofing tiles and pipes at one end to fine ornamental ware at the other, but the majority of firms made useful ware for homes, hotels and catering establishments. Sanitary ware was also made and some firms specialised in industrial fittings for the textile industry, and in later years for the electrical industry.

The local clay, found some 8 to 12 inches below the surface was used for red and brown ware and for yellow ware, but not extensively. Below the sub-soil was the marl and fire-clay that was used for bricks, including the hard blue bricks, often used for paving footpaths and still to be found in the pavements. Other products of this local supply were roof tiles, floor tiles, drain pipes and the saggars in which ware was packed to protect it when it was being fired. The other local raw material was the coal used in firing the kilns and ovens. The clay for the earthenware and china came from Dorset and Cornwall respectively, the flints came from the south coast of England, the chemicals used in the colours and glazes, the lead, borax and cobalt, came from Europe. With the raw materials, except coal, being imported the advantage the Staffordshire Potteries gained over other pottery centres was due to the skill of the craftsmen, mechanisation was very

slowly introduced and then it was only partial so the thrower and turner, the modeller and mouldmaker, the painters, and not least the firemen - who could mar a whole ovenful of ware in one bad firing, all made a very important contribution.

SOUTH-EAST BURSLEM



O.S.

1:10,560

Six inches to one mile

1900

Section I

Bricks and Tiles

The number of brick and tile works varied between seven and eleven, they were to be found in several locations, Silvester Square by Nile Street and by Sneyd Colliery, Cobridge, Dalehall and Hamill. Some were worked in connection with adjacent marl works, and some with adjacent colliery works.

Bricks were all hand-moulded originally, but during the second half of the century the bricks were cut by wires on a stiff frame as the clay was extruded. These bricks had to be dried before being fired in a kiln, then they were ready for use. The roofing tiles were made in the same way, so were the quarry tiles for floors. Floor tiles were made from pressed dust, a process that became common from the 1860s. The floor tiles were not of an expensive or decorative nature, the manufacture of such tiles was taken up by earthenware factories, rather than by brick and tile makers.

Examples of the products of the brick and tile works are listed in advertisements, in 1889 the Dalehall Brick and Tile Company described themselves as manufacturers of "Staffordshire red and blue bricks, tiles quarries, ridges, terra-cotta ornamental, string coursings &c." In 1907 the Cobridge Brick and Sanitary Pipe Company manufactured "all kinds of natched and plain quarries for kilns and ovens, flue covers, boiler seatings, best and common fire-bricks, glazed sanitary pipes, sinks, syphons, interceptors, gulleys &c., common building bricks, buff and pressed ornamental bricks, wad and setter clays, pulverised cane and prepared saggar marls from the Peacock and Littlerow seams, ground pitchers, grog &c."

An example of the equipment of a brick and tile works is shown by an advertisement in 1857:

"To be let - Brick and Tile Works, Dalehall, Two ovens, flued sheds, steam engine, pugg mill and rollers, all in working order, close to canal and North Staffordshire Railway."

The enduring firms were the Basford family at Dalehall until c1880, and George Wigley at Silvester Square, near Nile Street until the early 1890s. The brickworks at Sneyd Colliery were worked by C & J May until 1875 when they sold the colliery and brickworks to the Sneyd Colliery Company.

Brick making and the manufacture of roof and floor tiles was a minor part of the pottery industry in Burslem, however, they were worked in conjunction with the coal mines and the Dalehall Tile Works dominated the area near St Paul's Church.

Section II

Pottery

The Manufacturing Process

The industry in the second half of the nineteenth century was already well established as a series of consecutive operations, each worker being dependent on the worker before him or her in the sequence. On this industrial scale no one worker could follow through an article from raw material to finished product.

The main raw material was clay. It was weathered at the clay pits of Dorset, Devon and Cornwall and brought to the Potteries by sea to Liverpool and the Trent and Mersey Canal to Longport for Burslem. At the pottery manufactory different clays were mixed and ground down. The clay particles were then mixed with a hard substance such as flint, felspar or stone for added strength and a whiter colour in the fired article. The flint came mainly from the south coast of England and was processed, first by calcining, to make it more brittle, then by milling in water over chert stones. The flint grinding was carried out by specialist flint grinders, some of whom were also pottery firms.

The clays and flint particles were mixed with water in a blunger, the blunger possessed a number of rotating blades or vanes to thoroughly agitate the mixture. The resultant material was of the consistency of thick cream and at this stage was called 'slip.' The excess water had to be removed and for many years this was accomplished by the process of evaporation, the slip being heated in a slip kiln. The slip house was noted as being an unpleasant place to work as it was excessively hot and steamy. However, in 1855 it was reported that a completely different process was being tried out.¹ This involved squeezing out the water under pressure. It was hoped that this method would save time, labour, coal and that it would produce finer ware.

1. Staffordshire Advertiser 1 December 1855

The filter contained many layers of silk lawn of increasing fineness through which the slip was forced by ram or press pumps worked by steam. It proved a successful method of extracting the water; by 1869 the Smoke Inspector of Burslem could report that in the "last few years 27 of the 56 manufactories have adopted the press for the making of clay and discontinued 27 foul slipkiln chimnies" (sic).¹

The next stage in the preparation of the clay body was the expulsion of air bubbles in the clay. This was done either very laboriously by hand in a process called 'wedging' or without effort in a machine called a pug mill. In wedging, large lumps of clay were held above the wedger's head and then dashed down onto a table. The lump was cut into progressively smaller pieces with wire until it was of the right size and consistency for the potter. This labour was usually performed by children for whom it was both very heavy and unnecessary work as the pug mill was available. The mill forced the clay through a horizontal or vertical press until it was extruded in the form of a large sausage.

Only at this stage was the clay ready to be made into ware. The most skilled branch of potters was that of the throwers. They were the men at the potter's wheel who formed a lump of clay into a hollow article such as a vase, bowl, jug or dish. Throwing was the highest paid of the occupations, but even in 1862 it was a declining branch as more mechanical and less skilled methods had been devised. The thrower's work was handed to the turner who placed the article on a lathe and smoothed the surface and could add an indented design if required.

The largest branch of the industry was that of the flat and hollow ware pressers. They made plates, saucers, cups, jugs, bowls and dishes of all kinds. They used a machine called a jigger or jolly. In the case of flat articles a piece of clay was placed on the machine, the

1. Burslem Local Board of Health Reports 1850-1871 - Inspector of Nuisances Reports 1889.

shape of the article was then obtained by means of an appropriately shaped weight descending on it, the operative had to remove surplus clay from the edge, take off the finished shape and put on a fresh piece of clay. The jigger rotated with a circular motion so it made circular articles but jiggers with an elliptical motion were developed for oval articles.

Irregularly shaped articles, such as fancy ornaments, were made by yet another method, in a mould. An inner and outer mould of the object was made in plaster of paris, the clay was placed in between and allowed to set.

After being formed the ware had to be thoroughly dried as any moisture could cause the item to explode in the kiln. The ware was stacked in a drying room known as the 'potters' stove.' This was the cause of many complaints about the working conditions as children were occupied in stacking the ware in the potter's stove.

The 'green ware' then went for its first firing in the biscuit oven. This was the longest and hottest of the firings lasting some 60 hours at temperatures up to 1100°C . Prior to this firing the ware could be reformed but afterwards it could only be thrown away if irreparably damaged. Rough edges on the biscuit ware were rubbed off by scourers and the ware then went to the dipping house for its glaze. The glaze gave a non-porous surface of the ware which was then fired in the glost oven for about 26 hours to fix the the glaze.

Decoration of the ware could take place before the glost firing in which case it was under-glaze decoration, if it was decorated after the glost firing it was called over-glaze decoration. Plain colour was added as a coloured slip, patterns were applied as transfers and painted or by freehand painting.

The printer used a copper-plate engraving to print a pattern onto a transfer sheet, the transfers were then cut out and applied to the ware with a damp sponge, the paper was soaked off leaving the oil-based pattern on the plate, dish or cup. The colours were fixed by a firing in an enamel kiln lasting some 12 hours at 800°C. A multi-coloured piece would need several separate firings to fix each colour. The painting of ware ranged from a very talented artist decorating fine porcelain to a young girl dabbing colour on cheap ornaments. Gold was added by gilders and in the days before 'bright gold' it had to be polished up by burnishers.

Firing the ware was an important and skilled business as a large quantity of ware could be wrecked in a bad firing and for many years the operatives were only paid for work that was 'good-from-oven'. To protect the ware in the kiln it was packed in containers of coarse, local clay called saggars and each piece was kept separate by small objects of hard pottery called stilts, spurs or thimbles. This stacking allowed the circulation of the heat and ensured that the glaze did not cause the pieces to stick together. The saggars, which were very heavy, were piled one on top of the other in the kiln by the placer. Each stack was called a bung and a kiln could take some 50 bungs. Each kiln had up to eight furnaces arranged at intervals around the circular kiln. The fireman was in charge and responsible for the even firing of the kiln, to keep a check on progress during the firing there were a number of peep-holes with small, glazed, fire-clay cones, when their tips bent over the fireman knew that the glaze was fusing and it was time to reduce the heat. Once the firing was complete the kiln was allowed to cool, though it was still very hot when unpacked. The ware was then taken to the warehouse, if it was finished, and then checked, sorted and packed in straw and wooden

crates for despatch to the rest of Britain and the world.¹

The Workers and Child Labour

The pottery industry could employ all members of a family in its various branches. The slip makers were men assisted by boys of 14 or 15 but virtually no children were employed. The models and moulds were made by highly skilled craftsmen assisted by errand boys and boys were also apprenticed in this department. The thrower was a man and he was usually assisted by two women or girls, one to turn the wheel and one to supply the lumps of clay and remove the finished work. If the thrower had a powered wheel he had a boy to regulate its speed. The turners also had a woman or girl to work the treddle of the lathe, if it was a steam powered lathe then a boy would regulate it. The handles of cups, jugs and teapots were made by boys using moulds into which they forced the clay with the weight of their chests. The pressers employed a varying number of assistants, a dish maker generally employed one boy, a plate maker two boys, and the saucer maker three, as did the cup maker who sometimes employed four. These boys were engaged in turning the jigger, in carrying the moulds with the moist ware on them into an adjoining drying room or 'stove' and placing it upon the shelves to dry, in assisting the workman in wedging clay, in 'patting out' and in cleaning the dry ware, they also swept out the shops and stoves and lit the fires. Evidence was given to the Assistant Commissioner, Samuel Scrivens, in 1841 for the Children's Employment Commission by a number of children including Robert Hood, aged ten years, who worked in the Egyptian Ware Factory of Messrs Hood & Buxton, the premises were considered

1. Trades Union Congress - Hanley Meeting 1905. The Programme and History of the Staffordshire Potteries - How Ware is Made P.66-71.

to have "very small workrooms" and were "hot and ill-ventilated".

Young Robert described his life:

"I run moulds for father; have been employed three years for Mr Hood. I cannot read: I cannot write; never went to day school; I go to Sunday School. My father is a saucer-maker; he is always in work; don't know how much he gets a week; but I get three shillings, have no mother, have one sister and one brother. My sister stops at home to look after house; she cannot read. My brother goes to school but he is young yet. I go home to breakfast and have milk-meat; and go home to dinner when I get bacon and tatees. I like my work very well; would like to work in the warehouse better cause they are paid there for working till nine and I am not; I think ours harder; and get so much a day. I am always very tired when I go home at night, get my supper; and be glad enough to go to bed. 'Tis very hot in the mould-room and a good deal hotter in summer, it makes us sweat and we drink plenty of water. I catch cold very often, but have never been laid up with it. Father flogs me sometimes, if I let go a mould or break a saucer; nobody else. Master is very good to me." 1

Children were not involved in any kiln work. The Ovenmen, firemen and placers had the help of older boys, usually over 15 years in attending to the fires and other jobs. The older boys were also to be found with the saggar makers because this job required considerable strength as the clay was heavy and handled in large quantities.

Dipping was not physically arduous work but carried a major health risk in that lead was a major constituent of the glaze. Very small boys took the ware to the dipper, boys of 14 or 15 collected the dipped ware and women brushed the ware. The work was more highly paid but most of the workers were affected to a greater or lesser extent by the lead in the atmosphere and in the glaze which was transferred from the hands of the workers to their mouths and thence into their bodies.

The printers were men and they employed two women or girls as transferrers and a little girl as a cutter-out. In some works the cutters and transferrers worked in one room together. In 1841 the eleven year old Mary Nixon described her situation:

"I am a paper-cutter for Mary Sergeant; she is employed by Samuel Sergeant, the printer, who is her husband. We have

1. Children's Employment Commission Second Report of the Commissioners Volume 1 1843. Appendix to Second Report Vol 2. Reports and Evidence from Sub-Commissioners 1842. Interview No 180.

two pressmen, two girls and four women working with me in the same room. I have been to work three weeks next Tuesday. Can read, but cannot write. Went to day school at Mrs Williams's; go every Sunday to Baptist School. I come to work at half past six, get my dinner in the same room in which I work; never hear bad language there; never hear swearing. I go home at six o'clock or half past. Work Monday when there is work to do. Did not work last Monday. Samuel Sergeant is a very good man. I get now two shillings a week; shall have three shillings soon, I always take it home for mother. My father is a slip-maker; mother stops at home to look after the young ones. Have two sisters and one brother, one of my sisters is older than I am; she is a transferer." 1

Painters were of both sexes and all ages and generally worked in the pleasantest surroundings in the Potteries, which given the general condition of the Potteries is not saying very much. The paintresses were thought of as the best behaved of the groups in the pottery industry. The two superintendents of the apprentice girls' painting room at Messrs Wood & Brownfield were Sarah Morriss, aged 28 and Ann Bradbury, aged 35:

"We . . . have 24 females of all ages in the same room; out of that number there are ten children under 13 years of age. Most of them can read, but few write. They come at seven in the morning and leave at six; they are allowed half an hour for breakfast - one hour for dinner. Some that live away off stay to get their dinners in the work-rooms; they cook them on the stove-pots; always take their hour and sometimes play before they begin work. Some live pretty well - others but middling. Their general conduct is tolerably good. We keep our eyes upon them and check anything like misconduct. They get their regular holidays at wake times. We have no other rewards except that of putting them forward in their trade. Have no punishments by making them do extra pieces, because they do piece work and all try to do as much as they can. They get here half the price of journeywomen for the first five years. We think that, taking an equal number of girls from the painting room and from other occupations in the same sphere of life, in point of moral conduct the painters would prove superior." 2

The gilders were usually men and boys but the burnishing was done by women. Ten year old Susan Wilcox explained her work at Messrs Allcock's, one of the largest and best factories in the Potteries:

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1. Children's Employment Commission Appendix Interview No 193.
 2. " " " " Interview No 208.

"I am apprentice to Mr Allcock as a burnisher. Have been bound twelve months. There are three apprentices and 30 or 40 young women working in the same room with me; the three are under 13 years; most all the women served their time here. We have no men or boys in the same room with us. There are three superintendents looking over us; they are very kind to me sometimes; sometimes they give me a slap upon the back when I look off my work; that is all the punishment I get, except a scolding. I never forfeit pay for breakages. I get rewarded sometimes with a penny when I'm a good girl; the burnishers give it not the master. I get a shilling or 1s 6d a week and carry it home to mother. She stays at home to look after the children; she has five. I can read and write a bit, not much. I go to Sunday School; went to a day school afore I came, I like my work very well and should not like to leave it."

The scouring of the ware was done by women and though it was injurious because of the flint laden dust there was no shortage of workers because it was highly paid.

The sorting and packing of the ware in the warehouse was done by both sexes. The stilts and spurs used in the saggars were mostly made by children.

1. Children's Employment Commission Appendix to Second Report
Interview No 191.

The Application of the 1864 Factory Act

The Children's Employment Commission of 1842 had exposed the situation in which children laboured in the manufactories, the early age at which they began working, the poor conditions in which they worked and the lack of education which nearly all of them admitted. Yet the evidence did not result in any action and earthenware factories had to wait twenty years before legislation affected them. In 1862 another Commission inquired into the state of children's, young persons' and women's employment, this time the Commission decided that non only was there room for improvement, but that action would be taken to ensure improvement. They recommended two main types of change, firstly in the physical conditions of work, and secondly in ensuring that the children received some education. Improvements in ventilation of the workrooms, in reducing the temperature of the potters' stoves, specific regulations to protect health, to prevent children and young persons from working overtime, to ensure that they received proper meal times were recommended. For 'moral improvement', as the Commission termed it, a half-time system of school attendance was proposed with limitations of the age and hours of work and they also wanted a certain standard of education reached by the age of thirteen.

The half-time system was received rather dubiously by the manufacturers, who thought that there would not be sufficient numbers of children to provide two sets, that where painting was involved there would be noticeable changes of style between the morning and afternoon painters. One manufacturer, Joseph Edge would have preferred a lower starting age for full-time work, suggesting ten years, another, Mr Maddock suggested twelve as the lower limit, with no half-time working.¹

1. The Builder - Jan 3 1863, P. 7-8. Plans for the Improvement of the Youthful Workers at the Potteries in Staffordshire.

In the event, the Factory Acts Extension Act of 1864 extended regulations that already applied to the textile industry to the pottery industry (amongst others). The effect of this Act was to make the minimum age of employment eight years, children between eight and thirteen years could only work a six-and-a-half hour day, machinery could only be operated between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. in summer and 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. in winter and the factory had to close at 2 p.m. on Saturday. This was to stop multiple shifts of children and young persons and women, it also had the effect of reducing the hours that men worked though they were not specifically included in the Act. The Act was to be enforced by Inspectors and a sub-inspector was based in Stoke-upon-Trent for the Potteries. The children had to attend school, either in the morning or in the afternoon and had to have a certificate to work and keep a time book so that their working hours could be checked.

The Act first came into operation on 1 January 1865 with the regulations introduced gradually so it was not in full operation until 1867. The Factory Inspector appointed for the earthenware industry was Robert Baker. He was a doctor and had been sub-inspector of factories in Leeds and had considerable experience of the application of the Factory Act to the textile industry. He controlled a very wide area of the British Isles, but managed to visit all his districts in person and met the manufacturers and the workers and investigated the schools which would have to provide the education for the eight to thirteen year olds. His sub-inspector was Commander S W May, R.N. who covered the whole of Staffordshire, not just the Potteries.

The Act was introduced at a time of trade depression due to the American Civil War and this reduced the effects of the restriction of child labour in the manufactories. Baker was convinced of the value of the Act and had little sympathy with objections, which he had heard from the textile manufacturers thirty years earlier. Yet the Potteries

Chamber of Commerce, which comprised mainly pottery manufacturers, had memorialized the Government on the condition of the child workers; complaining that

"Their children are employed in the Potteries at a very early age and in a way to interfere injuriously with their education and that this state of things is the cause of various moral and physical evils to the youthful population of this district." 1

With many of the manufacturers recognising that remedies were required and such remedies needed the backing of legislation, with penalties for defaulters, Baker felt free to criticise those manufacturers who opposed the Act:

"Many of the masters, helpless in discipline, are defenceless as to control over their works because but a few years ago they were potters at the bench themselves, and had not yet learnt the position into which their enterprise and prudence had lifted them. With a few among them the Act was barely an idea, the benefit of which they were unable to appreciate. They found it difficult to comprehend that educated workers could be of more value to them than uneducated ones." 2

It was not only the masters who were not always convinced of the value of the Act, not all workmen saw its advantages as Baker did:

"Some of them saw in the slightly advanced rate of wages which they were sure, they said, they should have to pay for older hands only a scourge to inflict injury on their own families. Neither were they able to understand that education gives the best chances to ability, but that education cannot be obtained without leisure." 3

Child labour was such an accustomed feature of the Potteries that the changes that the Act brought about would need some adjustment of ideas by many people. In evidence to the 1862 Commission the Clerk to the Wolstanton and Burslem Poor Law Union said "The guardians think it indicates something wrong on the part of their parents if boys of ten are not at work".

After the Act had been in operation for nearly a year the Potteries Chamber of Commerce was requesting a relaxation of the provisions because they claimed difficulty in obtaining enough children

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1. Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the half-year ending 31 October 1864, P.53.
 2. Reports of the Inspectors of Factories for the half-year ending 31 October 1864, P.51.

for two sets, they wanted the children to have completed their education before starting work and for the lower age limit for full-time work, set by the Act at thirteen, to be lowered. Baker did not have any sympathy with this point of view, his experience of the textile manufacturers had shown that in time they changed their minds or "recanted their former sentiments". Baker thought that the answer to any shortage of labour was not the full-time employment of twelve year olds but the employment of workers coming in from other districts, he specifically mentioned Leek, and secondly the introduction of machinery to replace child workers. He also denied that the Factory Act was wholly responsible for the shortage of juvenile labour in the district, the coal and iron industry, which paid higher wages, was providing strong competition for the juvenile males of the Potteries. The large firms did not suffer from the loss of labour as much as small firms who did not pay wages regularly or who retained a portion of the wages, presumably to ensure that the workers continued to come to work for them. The logical conclusion was that bad masters lost their workers not that the Act had deprived the masters of workers. With the Potteries Chamber of Commerce pointing out that their Parliamentary representatives were all members of the Chamber and that the Council relied on their support, Baker felt he had to state his opinion fairly forcibly:

"As a mere labour question, therefore the reduction of age to twelve years would be useless; whilst as a social and moral question it would be incalculably injurious. It is consequently the policy of the manufacturers to add all the short-timers they can to their establishments in order to increase the total number of workers, and thus make void the scarcity; or to supersede it by machinery if they desire their trade to be still further extended. I am in hopes, however, when it is shown them that, public opinion is unwilling to recede from a great success, and from an established principle of the utmost importance to the masses of the workpeople, for the sake of anticipations only, which are never likely to be realised, and when they have heard all that the independent witnesses have to say which I have yet to bring forward on behalf of the Factory Act and the half-time system in particular, the few potters who now object to

legislative interference, will, like the manufacturers of former days, advance with the times in which they live, and patiently wait for the result, not of an experiment but of that which is an established fact, namely the benefit of legal restrictions on factory labour. They cannot deny the former state of the Potteries as a group, which first their own Chamber of Commerce and then the Children's Employment Commission and lastly I have reported. They cannot disavow the former insanitary and often filthy condition of their works, nor underrate the vital statistics by which the mortality in the potters' employment has been shown so greatly to exceed that of other industrial occupations. They cannot but observe the marked improvement in the general physique of the young workers nor the evident effect of school on the children's characters, even when they are at work. They may not be able to account for the altered tone of their conversation nor understand how it is that infant and juvenile oaths are not so frequent as formerly. But in a few more years they will; and remembering the past with regret, will be thankful that their wishes in respect of the modifications they now seek were not acceded to". 1

Changes in the physical conditions of work were easier to achieve than the changes in attitude, the lime-washing of the work rooms was the most dramatic change, especially in places that had never been cleaned in twenty years, if ever. Even after five or six coats of whitewash the walls were still the colour of chocolate. Improving the ventilation of the stove rooms involved more effort but within twelve months most of the drying rooms had ventilation into the open air. Better designed stoves were also being tested. The sub-inspector also tried to persuade firms to make alterations and improvements in the buildings, on three occasions Mr May was called in to advise on drainage, ventilation and cleanliness before new tenants moved into a works. The Inspectors were keen to encourage the building of new works wherever possible because the latest improvements and machinery could then be installed without difficulty.

After the Factory Act had been in operation for one year Baker could list the following improvements:

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1. Reports of the Inspector of Factories - 31 October 1865, P.95.

"It has whitewashed and cleansed upwards of 200 workshops after a period of abstinence from any such cleaning in many cases of twenty years and in some, entirely, in which were employed 27,878 artisans, hitherto breathing through protracted days and often nights of labour, a mephitic atmosphere and which rendered an otherwise comparatively innocuous occupation pregnant with disease and death. It has greatly multiplied the means of ventilation through the various workrooms in which their people are engaged and has even considerably reduced the temperature of the stoves themselves, with a considerable saving of fuel and with a readier effect on the ware. It has limited the hours of female, adolescent and infant labour by a very considerable percentage over the ordinary and extraordinary hours of labour of preceding times, without diminishing production and with but a small temporary diminution of the rate of wages (for the value of exports of earthenware for 11 months of 1865 and adding 1/12th of the same value for 1864 for the value of the remaining month, shows an increase over the value of exports on the whole of three years preceding and including 1860, before the American War broke out, of not less than £138,628 sterling). It has safely and usefully placed upwards of 1600 children, most of them never at a day school before, in some of the best schools in the kingdom, with a moral and intellectual benefit of which we cannot estimate the value; it is reducing gradually, by the gentlest measures, the insubordination of uncontrolled power to the discipline of obedience. In the homes of the people too there are higher perceptions forming; ideas of domestic enjoyments, and of the social relations of life. In the streets there are no complaints by the householders or the police of extraordinary disturbances attributable to the prolongation of the hours devoted to recreation or amusement". 1

After two years of operation the trade was shown to have suffered no harm, though much assisted by a boom of the American trade. Both the prices received for the ware and wages paid had increased and objections by the potters seem to have diminished. With the Act successful, Baker could turn his attention to its shortcomings and the exemptions from its provisions:

"The Factory Act, however good in itself, is not the only remedial measure necessary to bring the minds of these classes into the purer spirit of domestic manufacture. It is only a part, although a step in the right direction, and a primary one. It checks the loss of physical force by limiting the hours of labour, and it affords opportunity to improve the mental condition by affording time for general and domestic instruction, but it makes no provision for the moral and physical supervision of the hands at work: it recognises no sensual dangers in the promiscuous mixing of the sexes; nor in the listening of little ears to the occasional harrowing obscenities of libertinism: its sanitary provisions are insufficient however insanitary the work may be. It offers

1. Reports of the Inspector of Factories - 31 October 1865, P.127, 128.

no inducement to industrial economy: it gives no encouragement to virtue against vicious habits in the vast majority of cases. These matters so all important in all true discipline are comparatively unrecognised by this specific law and pass unnoticed by most employers, though they are consequent upon the labour. These are, in fact, moral and social obligations left to be fulfilled by anybody who may assume the duty, either from religious or conscientious feelings." 1

However, in spite of allegations during the year of a higher rate of immorality due to girls being employed in work "properly" done by boys, on investigations by Baker there had proved to be no such thing. He had found only one case, and that among adult workers, and that had been "discovered and punished." What he found more objectionable was that girls were being set to wedge clay, a job beyond their physical capabilities. His objections met with no response and in this case he asked that it be stopped by law.

The Factory Act of 1864 included the manufacture of china, earthenware, stoneware, crucibles, retorts, casting pots, terra-cotta, chimney pots, tobacco pipes, ornamental tiles, ridge, plain and encaustic tiles, ware for medicinal purposes, toy wares and closet wares. Not included, though originally listed, were drain pipes and sewer pipes. Also excluded were bricks, by which was intended agricultural bricks made for the use of farmers and the size of brick had been defined by the Excise Acts; with the removal of any restriction of the size and shape many items were called 'bricks' when made of fire clay and so were exempt from the Factory Act. Tiles had come to include sanitary pipes so that brickyards, which did employ children and young persons were exempt from the law, there was no supervision of the conditions, nor were those children educated. Large brickyards also escaped the Workshops Act which applied to places with fewer than 50 workers.

Concern for the children of the brickyards was expressed by

1. Reports of the Inspector of Factories - 31 October 1866, P. 122.

George Smith of Coalville, Leicester. In 1870 he addressed the Social Science Congress at Newcastle-upon-Tyne on the subject and in 1871 he published a pamphlet entitled 'The Cry of the Children from the Brickyards of England: A Statement and Appeal with Remedy,' containing his 1870 paper with other articles and correspondence published in various newspapers on the subject. In his pamphlet Smith referred to his own early experiences in a brickyard and this drew a series of replies from J N Peake of "The Tileries" in Tunstall, the brickyard in which Smith had been employed. This consisted of copies of letters published in the Staffordshire Sentinel and the Potteries Examiner during October, November and December 1870, twenty-two in all, in which Peake and some of his employees questioned the claims made by Smith on his work in the brickyard. Although Smith may have misrepresented some of the points the effect was to achieve a change in the law and bring the larger brickyards under the Factory Act, with some specific restrictions, girls under 16 were not to be employed in brick and tile works at all. Peake thought the result would be that girls would only take up brick moulding rather than the more skilled work of tile-making, he would have preferred the complete banning of women from the brick and tile works. Mr George Melly, the Liberal member for Stoke-upon-Trent gave a careful answer to that suggestion and his reply also shows some of the thinking behind the factory legislation of the period. It was written in 1871:

"There is perhaps no question more difficult of solution than that of infant and female labour. If every child had a father in full work and a mother in good health, if every woman had a husband in receipt of ample weekly wages, I would be the first by law to direct that the proper place for a child to occupy was a bench in a primary school, and that a wife's duty was to attend to her domestic labours at home. So also I would today put it to every tilemaker or miner in your works whether, if with his strong right arm he can earn the needful, he would not be wise to let his daughter attend your national school and permit his wife to devote

her energies to making his house into a home. But when I remember how many widows and orphans there are among us, how many thousands of single women whose livelihood depends upon their personal labour, it is with a very cautious hand I would interfere with their liberty of action, or, while so many temptations to vicious idleness beset the path of every young girl, place a bar across the road to any honest industry. Certain employments and long hours of labour clearly proved destructive of health should be prohibited in the case of young children of both sexes and young girls . . or where the love of gain overwhelms parental affection, by the state, from occupations calculated to debase or demoralise them." 1

Over the years there were more restrictions of the employment of children, these changes were more easily absorbed because the 1864 Act had been accepted and the Inspector and sub-inspector were familiar figures to the masters. In 1878 the legal age of entry to work was raised to ten years, in 1891 to eleven and in 1901 to twelve, though half-time schooling continued until 1918. Fitness for work certificates for those under 16 years were made compulsory in 1878 and strengthened and developed in 1895 and 1901. The notion that children should not be permitted to slave away their childhood but were entitled to spend time in education and in recreation grew slowly. The need for the protection of children from unhealthy trades was both easier to prove and to show results, moral improvement was harder to demonstrate but was a feature of the case for legislative interference. Young persons and women were protected from excessive hours of work and as they normally assisted the men it meant that the men worked fewer hours as well. It was also thought that a more disciplined workforce would result and that a better educated workforce would perhaps be more amenable, especially over the introduction of new methods. It was thought that they would also cope better with machines and machinery. Undoubtedly the presence of the Factory Inspectors, backed by the Acts and the powers of prosecution if necessary, though there were few prosecutions and in most cases the magistrates were likely to be fellow manufacturers, made the Factory Acts work. Without the Act the situation remained

1. Local Pamphlets - Volume 14 contains all the publications relating to the brickyard workers.

unchanged. It needed the force of legislation to bring about an improvement.

Trade Unionism

After the failure of the 1836 Potters' Strike trade unionism remained fairly weak in the pottery industry. The United Ovenmen's Union was founded in 1860, but even in the 1890s the membership fluctuated between 1400 and 500. The Hollow-ware and Sanitary Pressers, Mould-makers Union was not founded until 1871 it had about a thousand members in the 1890s and in 1899 was boosted by the 500 or so members of the National Order of Potters. Some unions were very small, the United Potters' Packers had between 42 and 90 members in the 1890s, the Amalgamated Society of Throwers, Turners and Handlers was dissolved in 1899 having sunk from 140 members in 1892 to 36 members in 1898. The Union of China and Earthenware Gilders was registered in 1889 and was dissolved in 1894. The Printers and Transferrers' Union was started in 1899 succeeded the Amalgamated Printers and Transferrers which had dissolved in 1898 with 201 members, but by 1900 the new union had 1739 members and the Secretary from 1904 was Noah Parker, a Burslem Town Councillor and Borough Justice of the Peace, he was later appointed manager of the first Labour Exchange in Burslem.¹

Until the move to amalgamate the different craft unions at the beginning of the century only a minority of pottery workers were members of unions, people such as William Owen and Sarah Benett both worked hard to increase union membership and union amalgamation. William Owen (1844-1912) started a number of newspapers in the Potteries, none were very successful, he was a member of Burslem School Board for a short while before moving to Wolverhampton. He returned to Burslem in 1879 and was involved in the 1881 Potters' Strike but the strike and his latest newspaper failed. However, Owen was deeply committed to the cause of unionism in the Potteries, a founder of arbitration as a method

1. Report by the Chief Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade on Trade Unions. Reports 1898, 1897, 1900.

of settling disputes and at his death had been fairly successful in the trade union aspect of his work, although his other interest, journalism, had been less successful. ¹ Sarah Benett, a member of the Burslem School Board, helped financially many trade unionists and opened the Union offices in Hanley. ²

One of the strongest unions was that of the Ovenmen mainly because the ovenmen controlled the final stage of the ware, Thomas Edwards was elected Secretary of the Society in 1891 after many years' active work for the union, especially in the move to abolish the annual hiring of workpeople in 1866 and in 1874 in the establishment of a regular daily rate of wages, he was a Town Councillor and Alderman and the last Mayor of Burslem and a JP for the Borough. ³

Many of the work-practices of the Potteries disliked by the men were only removed after considerable agitation. The annual hiring was one-sided in that the employer could dismiss the worker, but should the worker not want to continue working for that master, he could be prosecuted and imprisoned for breaking his contract. However, many men worked for the same masters year after year. The "good-from-oven" code meant that should ware not be saleable because of damage then the workers were not paid for it, even though the damage might have been beyond their control. The masters considered it a check on bad workmanship and that such losses should be a shared risk. Many works had deductions from wages for gaslight, for use of machines, for cleaning the floors, though many were removed in various wage-settlements. The mode of payment of wages was a bone of contention, a shortage of small change meant that the master paid one of the foremen a large sum in coin of high value, the foreman then went to a public-house to obtain change, the publicans demanding a few pence per man for giving

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1. Local Newscuttings Volume 6, P.159-160.
 2. Frederick Parkin - Autobiography of a Pottery Trade Unionist. Reminiscences of Forty-five Years.
 3. Staffordshire Advertiser 31 December 1910

the change, it also meant that many men and young persons, even children, had to spend the evening in the public-house to get their weekly wages. This practice naturally attracted the condemnation of the temperance faction and gradually disappeared.¹

The discipline of fixed hours of work changed the practice of working very hard at the end of the week whilst seldom working on a Monday, in fact so little work was done then that it was known as 'Saint Monday'. Many of the workers had to make up their work at the end of the week and excessively long hours were worked on Thursdays and Fridays and it was this practice that was condemned by the Royal Commissions as it meant that children, young persons and women also had to work long hours. The 1864 Factory Act restricted the hours of all but the men, and in practice the men were included because they could not work alone. Those working practices that were not altered by legislation were changed after considerable effort of the workers and their representatives especially before the various Boards of Arbitration over the years. The Trade Unions were not important institutions in the period 1850 to 1910 in the pottery industry, some Labour leaders were important and the Arbitration procedure was well regarded by the workers at first. Some changes were brought about as a result of wage settlements, some as a result of changes in social life over the years but even T Hawley looking back sixty years to the 1840s and 1850s did not note that much difference for the worker, except in more child workers and less mechanisation.

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1. T Hawley-Pottery Life and Character Sixty Years Ago c1900
Frederick Parkin-Autobiography of a Pottery Trade Unionist,
Reminiscences of Forty-Five Years
A E Emery-The Economic History of the Potteries in The Highway and
Students' Bulletin, January, February, October 1928.

The Pottery Firms

The pottery manufacturers who played a major role as members of the local Board, the Town Council, the Board of Guardians and the School Board and in the Churches were from varied backgrounds. There was no stereotype of an earthenware manufacturer. Burslem's pottery industry saw many changes of firm over the years, nevertheless there was a degree of continuity at many of the potworks, most firms lasted several years, some lasted many years, a few are still in business today.

Most of the potbanks were rented, sometimes for a set period of years so there were changes in tenancy. Apart from changes of tenancy the other major change was that of partnerships, most firms had a number of partners, usually members of the same family - sons joining fathers, or related by marriage. Some partners were wholly concerned with the pottery business, but many had another business, often a shop or shops. Changes in partnership occurred on the retirement or death of a partner but sometimes bankruptcy ended the business. Towards the end of the century and at the beginning of the twentieth century a number of firms became limited liability companies, a trend which continued. Entry into manufacturing was not very difficult, tenancies of potworks of varying sizes became available for the man who was prepared to wait a few years.

Most Burslem firms made earthenware goods, a few made china. Mostly they made household ware, such as breakfast, tea and dinner sets and toilet sets. A number of firms concentrated on the American market for which they made white undecorated ware in a strong earthenware called 'ironstone', crockery was also made for hotels and ships as well as ordinary domestic use. A few firms specialised in china door furniture, fancies and figures and later in electrical fittings made of porcelain. In the later years of the nineteenth century some firms concentrated on the teapot trade in

jet, rockingham (patterned) and samian ware. Sanitary ware was not much favoured until the beginning of the twentieth century. An industry that was supplied with pottery goods was the textile manufacturing industry, with pottery fittings for thread guides and spindle bearings.¹ Brass founders were also supplied with pottery.

Some firms remained consistently successful, some experienced a sequence of rise, success, decline and ultimate disappearance; some firms experimented with new products, one firm experimented with a new method of organising business. Some manufacturers knew nothing about the business before entering it, others had worked in pottery for many years. James Macintyre joined his brother-in-law in the Washington Works after spending 23 years working for the canal transport company of Anderton, eventually being the manager of the Potteries branch. William Woodall became a partner in the Washington Works after marrying Macintyre's daughter, he had been trained as a gas engineer and was the manager of the Burslem & Tunstall Gas Company's works at Longport. Macintyre's successor at Anderton's was James Malkin and he entered the pottery business when he married the eldest daughter of Joseph Edge of Cork & Edge. Joseph Edge himself had been in the confectionery business before joining Benjamin Cork in 1847 and retained his shop for several years. Other shopkeeper-manufacturers were William Lea of Lea, Smith & Boulton who was a grocer and beerseller, John Smith of the same firm was a grocer, Absalom Wood of Wood, Son & Co was a grocer. William E Oulsnam had been a tobacco manufacturer before becoming an earthenware manufacturer, S J Simpson had been a partner in his father-in-law's building and estate agency business. Whilst those men had little or no experience of the business there were

1. Known as 'shuttle eyes' and 'creel steps'

others who rose within the pottery trade to be their own masters; Samuel Gibson had worked for pottery firms in Tunstall and Burslem, Ralph Hammersley had worked for Edward Challinor before taking over the Overhouse Works, Thomas Hulme (W) had worked in the office of the Washington Works, Robert Sudlow had worked in two Burslem potteries, A J Wilkinson had been a traveller for Edge, Malkin & Co before setting up his own business and Tom Hall of Gater, Hall & Co had worked for other firms before becoming a partner in his own business.

The largest pottery firm in Burslem was that of Davenport's. They produced a wide range of ware from fine porcelain decorated by excellent artists, to earthenware and stoneware, including ships' crockery. At one time there were four potworks and a glass works in use.

The firm was founded by John Davenport in 1793 and at its peak consisted of the Unicorn Works, the Top Bridge Works and the Lower Bridge Works at Longport and the Newport Works at Middleport as well as a glass works at Longport. The eldest son, John Davenport junior, took no part in the business, he became a barrister-at-law and lived at Westwood Hall, later he moved to Herefordshire. The intended successor to the business was the second son, Henry Davenport. The third son, William Davenport, entered the firm in 1822 and became a partner in 1833 at about the time that John Davenport senior retired from the business. In 1835 Henry Davenport was killed in a hunting accident and William Davenport took charge, changing the title to William Davenport & Co.

In 1847 the Davenport family bought Maer Hall at Whitmore from the Wedgwoods and entered fully into the life of country gentry.

[illegible]

O. S. 1:10,560 Six inches to one mile 1900

John Davenport senior died in 1848 leaving some £120,000 and in the 1840s and 1850s the firm under William Davenport's direction seemed to be doing well. In 1857 the Newport Works, a manufactory of six ovens on the banks of the Trent and Mersey Canal was given up, but it was still the most extensive firm in Burslem. However, the move to Whitmore and an enthusiasm for hunting meant that less interest was taken in the business. From 1845 William Davenport was M.F.H. of the North Staffordshire Hunt and until 1865 he bore the full cost of keeping the foxhounds. He had a large family of one son and eight daughters, most of whom were also keen on hunting, with the additional expenses of keeping sufficient horses for the hunting season. Shortly before William Davenport's death in 1869 the expenses were beginning to weigh more heavily and the pack of fox hounds was transferred to a syndicate to spread the costs. William Davenport had been a Justice of the Peace for the county, a deputy lieutenant and in 1859 had been High Sheriff, he was a member of the Goldsmith's Company and had been one of the original promoters of the STaffordshire Potteries Waterworks Company. He had not taken a very close interest in the affairs of Burslem, but he did lay the foundation stone of the new Town Hall in 1854 and in 1865 presented an organ to the Town Hall. He left an estate worth £160,000, but much of it was saddled with debts, mortgages, and trust funds and these were to prove a major and eventually an insupportable burden to the family and to the firm. Sales of property began in 1874, and in 1876 the Lower Bridge Works was sold for £7,500 to Edward Clarke & Co. The sales of 1874 and 1876 raised over £42,000 but in 1878 the mortgage debt was still very

high, at over £29,000. Attempts were made to sell Longport Hall and the various Longport Works, but the sales fell through. In 1881 the Top Bridge Works was sold to Thomas Hughes which left only the Unicorn Works and the glass works. At this stage other members of the family took an active interest in saving the firm. In 1881 a new company, called Davenports Limited was set up with a capital of £40,000 with five directors - E T W Wood, H T Davenport, MP. Major G W Wood and A H Dashwood plus another director nominated later. Henry Davenport, the only son of William Davenport, was not involved, he seems to have had no business training, he had attended Harrow School and Christ Church, Oxford, but did not have a degree, he also seems to have been improvident, in 1884 he still owed the trustees over £14,000 and the bankers £10,000, though the Maer estate consisted of over 4,000 acres and the average annual rental was about £6,900 in 1873.

The new firm began quite well and specialised in colourful 'Japan' patterns, in the first year they made a profit, but from 1883 trade became bad for everyone and the firm began to trade at a loss, the depression continued through 1884 and 1885 and so did the losses. In 1886 some plots of land were sold but only fetched some £3,000. Finally, in 1887 the creditors forced the sale of the whole of the works together with the 'goodwill, plant patterns, stock-in-trade and effects, and the lease of the London showroom and offices.' Not one offer was made at the auction, but by 1888 Thomas Hughes had purchased the rest of the works and Davenport's had ceased to exist. It had been a large, successful and highly regarded firm that had not survived the third generation of the family. A trade depression dealt the final blow, but financial difficulties had existed for many years, compounded by the expenses of a country

estate, a large family and the expensive pursuit of hunting.¹ The family appear to have lived beyond their means and not to have paid sufficient attention to the business until it was too late. The family had a rather detached attitude with the exception of Harry T Davenport the son of John Davenport junior; H T Davenport was educated at Harrow and Oxford and was called to the Bar, he unsuccessfully contested a number of Parliamentary elections until he was elected a member for North Staffordshire from 1880 to 1885, he then stood for the Leek division but was not elected until the general election of 1886 and remained the member until he retired from ill health in 1892. He was appointed the umpire in the negotiations which ended the 1892 lock-out in the Potteries, but his main interests were in education rather than in manufacturing industry.

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1. T A Lockett - Davenport Pottery and Porcelain 1794-1887
C J Blagg - A History of the North Staffordshire Hounds and Country 1825-1902

Davenport's was a family firm that failed, Maddock's was a family firm that was successful and remained successful. It was founded by John Maddock about 1830 at Newcastle Street, there seems to have been a partnership with a man called Seddon from about 1839 to 1842. The main product of the firm was white granite ware for the American market and the family knew their market thoroughly, John Maddock junior spent several years in America building up their trading connections and on his return to England his brothers, Thomas Maddock and Henry Maddock took over in America. Another son, James Maddock, spent several years in the East Indian Merchant Service and then trained as a modeller at the Stoke School of Art, his best piece being a model of Harriet, Duchess of Sutherland. James Maddock took a close interest in the scientific side of the industry, he made considerable changes in the granite ware body and invented 'semi-porcelain' a very close approach to bone china, but without the bone. He developed in further to suit the requirements of the American hotel industry and the result was 'Royal Vitreous' and 'Vitrified Porcelain'. James Maddock also made many improvements in the placing of goods in the kiln or oven.

John Maddock senior retired from active business work in the early 1870s and John Maddock junior took overall charge, in 1877 John Maddock senior died, leaving just under £20,000 and in 1881 John Maddock junior died, leaving some £32,000. The unexpected death of his brother left James Maddock in charge of the firm, though he was soon joined by John Francis Maddock, son of John Maddock junior, who returned from America where he had been learning the requirements of the American market. In 1896 the firm was made into a limited liability company with four directors - James Maddock, John F Maddock and the two sons of James Maddock,

Robert J Maddock and Arthur H Maddock.

Maddock's retained their Newcastle Street Works but expanded into a second works at Dalehall, at first in a short partnership with John Gater, then they built a new works in 1874-1875 at Dalehall on a greenfield site that had been part of the grounds of Longport Parsonage. The new works was designed with the most modern techniques and machinery in mind, all the grinding was done by steam power and a second steam engine supplied the motive force for all the other machines, including a new machine for jollying cups. (Previous attempts at machine-made cups had produced an inferior article, but the machines invented by William Boulton, and installed at Maddock's proved to make a cup as good as hand made). Plates and saucers were also machine-made and they intended to install machines to do the heavy and laborious job of 'batting-out' the shapes of plates and saucers.

The Maddock family were concerned for the welfare of their workers, John Maddock senior had ensured that all the workers joined a sick club and subscribed to the North Staffordshire Infirmary and when the Haywood Hospital was opened both the workpeople and the firm subscribed to it and James Maddock was the chairman of the governors of the hospital for many years. The Dalehall Works had lofty, light, clean, commodious and well-ventilated work rooms which were warmed by steam, though many of the men complained of a stench from the heating first thing in the morning. The stairs were made fairly shallow, unlike many staircases in other works which were inconveniently, even dangerously, steep. During the bad depression of 1887 and 1888 James Maddock kept the works in full production so that the employees did not suffer from reduced wages and short time working

and in April 1888 he was presented with three pieces of silver plate by the employees as a mark of gratitude. In 1894 James Maddock stated his opinion of the relationship between employer and employee:

'the firm had always done their best to advance the interests of their employees as well as their own. They had endeavoured to carry on the works to the mutual advantage of master and man, and thus had tended to success all round. It did not do for employer or employed to be at all selfish in their motives. Capital must not have all the advantages; and labour, which was the workman's capital, should have its advantages.'

The professional approach to business taken by the Maddock family enabled them to survive the restriction of the American trade on the introduction of the McKinley tariffs in 1894. Maddock's had an excellent reputation for the quality and character of their white goods and in the 1890s developed a series of standard decorations on their 'Royal Vitreous' brand. They survived and prospered because the family took a keen interest in the business and did much to further its development, both in improving the quality of the ware and in establishing a firm export market in America. They also built up a good relationship with their employees so that they were able to weather the years of depression without too much disruption. The family did well out of the business, but not excessively so, James Maddock died in 1916 and left under £21,000. Although the Maddocks did not live in Burslem, but at Alsager, they took a close and active interest in the town and its affairs. John Maddock senior was a member of the Local Board of Health from 1850 to 1863 and from 1866 to 1868, he was the Chief Bailiff from 1852 to 1853 and again from 1854 to 1855. James Maddock was elected to the first Town Council in 1878 and was Mayor for 1879-80 and 1880-81. In 1884 he was elected to an aldermanic vacancy and resigned from the aldermanic bench in 1889. In 1880 his mother, Mrs Maddock,

1. Staffordshire Advertiser 19 May 1894

presented to the town the mayoral chain, in memory of John Maddock, and in 1881 James Maddock presented a drinking fountain which was placed in St John's Square; he also paid for a burns ward at the Haywood Hospital and gave £1,000 towards the technical wing extensions at the Wedgwood Institute, opened in 1894.

James Maddock also took a practical interest in the organisation of the pottery industry, for thirty years he was the chairman of the Stilt and Spur Manufacturers' Association and was associated with the formation of the Arbitration Board and sat on the Board of Conciliation in 1908. ¹

A firm that knew considerable success and had an excellent name was that of William Brownfield. Later it was used to try a remarkable and unusual experiment in workers' co-operation.

Founded in 1836 as Robinson, Wood & Brownfield, the first two partners retired and from 1850 until 1871 the firm was in the sole charge of William Brownfield. The product was fine earthenware and ironstone for which it was renowned and in 1861 some 450 workers were employed at the manufactory at Cobridge. In 1871 William Etches Brownfield joined his father in a partnership. W E Brownfield introduced the manufacture of fine porcelain and appointed the talented artist, Louis Jahn, as art director. William Brownfield died in 1873, leaving about £100,000 and in his place, another son, Arthur Brownfield, became a partner. A Brownfield was a talented potter and he experimented with new bodies and glazes, but he was ahead of his time and he seemed unable to exploit his developments sufficiently so that no advantage was gained from his work. With the increasing trade difficulties of the 1880s and the 1890s W E Brownfield was involved in disastrous speculations and withdrew from

1. Local Newscuttings, Volume 1, p.202; Volume 9, p.49

the business and other partners followed suit. At the end of 1893 Arthur Brownfield was able to put into practice a co-operative scheme that he had been considering for a long time. After buying out the other partners he had insufficient capital to run the business so shares were offered to the public and to the employees. Some £4,000 was subscribed by the public, £2,000 by employees and trade unionists of the Potteries and Arthur Brownfield himself left £10,000 in the firm. The management was completely re-organised, Arthur Brownfield became 'chief worker' and manager, with a salary fixed by the Guild, as the firm was known. A committee of 17 drawn from all the departments was established to run the business the profits were to be divided between the workers - who were allocated three-quarters - and the shareholders who had one-quarter.

At the beginning of the experiment Arthur Brownfield and probably most of those involved had an idealistic notion of how it would operate:

'There is an entire absence of petty jealousy and distrust. We are all mutually dependent workmen, each one labouring in one cause, under the healthy supervision of his comrades, and governed by rules most carefully drawn up with the view to the protection of the interests of each individual member.' 1

A different view was taken by Frederick Rhead, who was the art director of the Guild:

'It had all the elements of success - the finest bodies and glazes - an unexcelled business connection, and a host of well trained and capable craftsmen; but the workmen were nearly all small shareholders, and from these a cumbrous committee with extraordinary powers was selected with Mr Brownfield as chairman. As workmen, under the old system, they were honest, efficient and valuable servants; but under the "Guild" their performance was grotesque. Mr Brownfield had delegated to them a considerable share of authority and as he himself possessed very little administrative ability, the proceedings for the space of two or three years became chaotic. Such a state of things could not continue indefinitely and the Guild was wound up about 1898.' 2

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1. Staffordshire Advertiser 14 April 1894 - Article reprinted from the Westminster Gazette
 2. G W & F A Rhead - Staffordshire Pots and Potters, P.308

The Guild had other problems, in 1894 there was a serious fire which did between £7,000 and £8,000 worth of damage and destroyed the 'Brownfield Vase', reputedly the largest piece of pottery in the world, it had cost some £4,000 to make and had been displayed at various international exhibitions, other valuable stock and moulds were destroyed, including a ram's head vase by Chèrie.¹ Another fire in 1896 gutted part of the warehouses and offices doing several thousand pounds worth of damage. They were covered by insurance but the fire damage was a set-back to production. However, a more difficult problem encountered at the beginning was the reluctance of suppliers and carrying companies to allow the Guild credit facilities. The old firm had been allowed unlimited credit but the Guild had to pay cash to the railway companies and the merchants.

Markets for the finished goods proved difficult to secure, Arthur Brownfield had expected all the co-operative shops and stores to buy the Guild's goods on principle, but only a few of the large London stores bought ware directly from the manufacturers and were prepared to buy from Brownfield, the other shops bought from middlemen who went round the Potteries buying at the lowest possible prices. Brownfield accused these men of calling on small firms on Saturday afternoons ready to buy from the potters who wanted ready cash to pay the week's wages. Brownfield also complained of the poor and inferior quality of ware produced by the small manufacturers.

The Guild began at a bad time for trade, the American market received a severe set-back with the 1894 tariffs and there was increased competition in other markets. The Guild's worker-shareholders did not have an easy time, the numbers employed fell from 600 to 400 and they agreed to work for six days a week whilst being paid wages for four days' work. In spite of the interest of trade

1. Staffordshire Advertiser 19 March 1894

unionists and shareholders from Staffordshire, Yorkshire, Lancashire and Nottinghamshire the Guild was under-capitalised and without credit facilities needed a steady supply of cash. Arthur Brownfield was a keen supporter of the idea of union and co-operation and was highly regarded by his fellow workers (they were not his employees), but the difficulties proved too great at a time of cut-throat competition and some hostility from other firms so the scheme only lasted some four years.

The Guild was succeeded by Brownfield's Pottery (Ltd) which lasted until 1900 when it went into liquidation, the works were sold, together with the stock, blocks, moulds, engravings, utensils, orders on hand and the option of taking up the unexpired five years of the lease. In all, there were 1,750 lots auctioned. Lot 1 was the earthenware department:

'11,561 sq yds, 4 biscuit ovens, 5 glost ovens, 6 hardening-on kilns, 2 enamel kilns, 1 frit kiln, 3 dipping and saggar houses, biscuit and glost ware houses, potters' workshops, printing shops, lead houses, sliphouses, colour room, stores and general offices, lodgekeepers dwelling houses, all machinery and fixtures. Ovens are of large size, workshops commodious and the most approved modern Machinery and Manufacturing appliances.'

Lot 2 was the China department:

'5,337 sq yds, 2 biscuit ovens, 2 glost ovens, 4 kilns for firing glost. Potters' workshop, decorating rooms with machinery and fixtures. Biscuit and glost ovens are large and in excellent condition. Workshops and warehouses are of recent construction, lofty and convenient, in first class order.' 1

The works were not considered to be good enough and were demolished, two new works were built on the site. In 1902 Ashley Myott opened a 5-oven works called the Alexandra Works on Arthur Street, having moved from Stoke-upon-Trent. The other works was taken by the Upper Hanley Pottery (Grimwades Ltd) and it was called the Brownfield Works.

1. Staffordshire Advertiser 22 September 1900

The sale of the patterns in 1900 marked the end of Brownfield, which for a long period had led a conventional and very successful existence and for a short time had led an unconventional and ultimately a failed existence as a co-operative. Arthur Brownfield had a romantic vision of the way people would co-operate, a vision justified for a while, but which was not sustained against the harsh realities of the commercial world.

Some men to become manufacturers were successful, some were not. Two successful self-made men were Samuel Gibson and Robert Sudlow. Gibson's father was a wholesale grocer and Gibson himself began work as a warehouseman, then he was a manager of the Kilncroft Works of Henry Burgess, though at the same time he had a grocery business in Burslem. Robert Sudlow came from Shropshire where he had worked on a farm and he had worked on the railways in the Potteries before working in the sliphouses of potteries on Queen Street and Nile Street. In 1875 when both men were about 30 years old, they set up in business together in the Bourne's Bank Pottery to make rockingham ware, mainly teapots. The business prospered and in 1884 Gibson decided to build a modern works for himself on Moorland Road, the partnership ended and Sudlow continued on his own account at Bourne's Bank.

At his new Albany Works on Moorland Road Gibson concentrated on teapots and in 1893 he was awarded the highest prize for Beauty of Design and Finish at the World's Columbian Exhibition at Chicago. A second works, the Harvey Pottery, named after his eldest son, Samuel Harvey Gibson, who died in 1891 and considered by the Congregationalists to be one of their 'most promising young men', was opened for fancy ware. Gibson was a conscientious potter and

was careful of both the quality and appearance of his ware. He was also successful, in 1905 the firm became a limited liability company and on his death in 1914 he left some £56,000.¹

Sudlow remained at Bourne's Bank for another ten years before building a brand new works on Adelaide Street in 1894 to continue the manufacture of jet and rockingham ware. Like Gibson he established a family business and handed over control to his sons in 1913. Sudlow died in 1916 and left just over £28,000.²

Whilst Samuel Gibson and Robert Sudlow were self-made men who prospered, George Cadman and Edward J Hawley tried and failed to follow the same path. Cadman was a presser at Weatherby's, Hanley and Hawley was a packer at W & E Corn's, Longport. From their respective wages of 27s (£1.35) and 22-24s (£1.10 - £1.20) a week, they saved £40 each, which they invested in taking the Melbourne Works, Sytch. They paid a rent of 5s (25p) a week and employed a manager to oversee the production of nest eggs, as they continued with their original jobs and could only attend to the business in the evenings. It was a business on a very small scale, though they had hopes of expansion but unfortunately for them, additional buildings were erected at the works and the rent was increased by 7½ per cent. It proved too great a burden and eighteen months after they had begun in 1898 they went bankrupt with liabilities of £78-12-1 (£78.60). They had never made a profit, they had received nothing out of the business, they had lost their capital, and their stock and fixtures were seized for the rent. Their experience illustrated the small investment that was needed to start a business, though it proved a bit too small to maintain it.

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1. Local Newscuttings Volume 8, P.27 - Staffordshire Sentinel 23 Feb 1914
 2. Local Newscuttings Volume 9, P.65 - Staffordshire Sentinel 9 Dec 1916
 3. Staffordshire Advertiser 28 April 1900

However, even a much larger capital investment could result in failure, as in the case of Ralph Plant, who also went bankrupt in 1900. Ralph Plant had been in partnership with his brothers at the Crown Pottery, Dalehall from about 1887, his initial investment there was £150 but in 1899 he paid £830 to leave the partnership. At Christmas 1899 he took the Fountain Place Works for ten years at a rent of £270 per annum. He spent over £1,000 in making the place workable, but in doing so he took up the £300 overdraft allowed him by the bank and he also mortgaged the property for £600. By that time it was February 1900 and Ralph Plant did not have the working capital to start business and he was ill. Ralph Plant junior then joined the business and persuaded a man called Samuel Baxter to invest. In the partnership agreement the capital of the firm was set at £3,000 and the stock and fixtures at £2,500, Ralph Plant senior was to have two-thirds of the profits and Ralph Plant junior and Samuel Baxter were to have one-sixth each. However, at the bankruptcy hearing in April 1900 it was admitted that the firm was insolvent to the tune of £4,208-2s (£4,208.10) at the time of the agreement and Baxter accused Ralph Plant junior of making deceitful entries in the books to persuade him to become a partner. Wages had not been paid, the rent was in arrears, there was nothing for the creditors and there were debts of some £5,000 and a warrant was issued for Ralph Plant junior after Baxter's allegations. The Official Receiver thought it a particularly bad case of reckless trading.¹

The Fountain Place Works was a much larger concern than the Melbourne Works, compare the rental of £270 a year with £13 a year and it needed a correspondingly greater investment, but Ralph Plant senior spent too much on the works before establishing a steady income, his judgment may have been affected by illness and

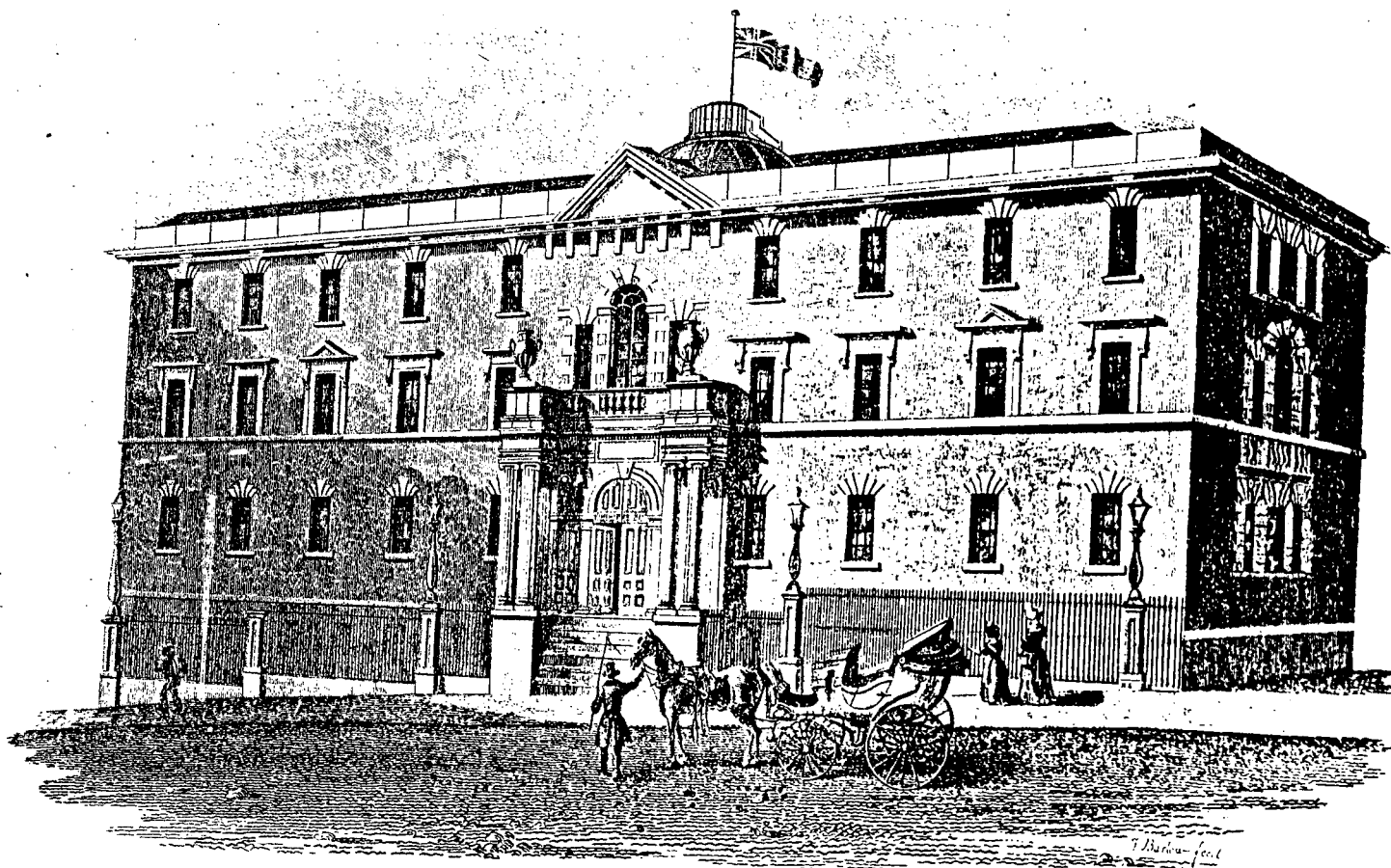
1. Staffordshire Advertiser 30 June 1900; 4 August 1900.

his son tried to obtain more capital by dishonest means. Although the opportunities existed for men to become independent manufacturers it was not always easy to be successful or to remain successful.

Burslem was not a centre of china manufacture, but a few firms did make china products, Davenport's and Brownfields have been mentioned, the Hill Pottery, with various tenants was also involved in china manufacture. It was worked from 1830 until 1859 by Samuel Alcock & Co., who demolished and rebuilt it in 1839. Alcock's made high class decorated tea and dinner sets, they also made Parian ware and ornamental and fancy articles, such as jugs, vases, statuettes, ash-trays, ring-holders, and centre pieces for flowers. At the Great Exhibition of 1851 they won a prize medal for china but not all their exhibits met with unqualified approval, a cod-fish cigar-ash holder could only be described as 'very clever in its way', and the Parian ware was thought 'too extravagant' in subject.¹ In 1855 they sent 1,000 basins free of charge to Scutari and made a 'patriotic jug' in aid of the Royal Patriotic Fund, it illustrated the horrors of war on one side and the nation's grateful efforts to relieve them on the other. In 1858 Queen Victoria purchased a dessert service of theirs, in imitation of old Palissy ware, when she saw it on display at the Crystal Palace on the occasion of the National Schools' Choral Festival. The firm was highly thought of and its failure came as a shock to everyone in the Potteries, except the Alcock family.

However, the financial problems dated back to 1848 when the founder of the firm, Samuel Alcock, mortgaged the pottery for £10,000 and ended his long partnership with Charles Keeling; less than a fortnight later he died. The eldest son, Joseph Locker Alcock, gave

1. Illustrated London News 26 July 1851, Volume 2, P. 126 and 357.



THE FRONT VIEW OF MESSRS SAXTON, ALDOCK & CO'S CHINA MANUFACTORY, BURSLEM

up all rights in a contest over the will, but the family had to borrow to pay off the mortgage. In October 1859, it was announced that the firm 'suspended payment on 8 October owing to its inability to meet a large amount of accommodation paper issued by the managers.' ¹ At that stage it was hoped to confine the bankruptcy to the Hill Pottery alone, (the family had worked a Cobridge pottery from 1834, though that was in the hands of nephews of Samuel Alcock). That object was achieved and the Cobridge Pottery continued as before. The workpeople of the Alcocks were anxious to maintain the Hill Pottery and even volunteered to give one out of three month's earnings towards the costs of confining the bankruptcy to the Hill Pottery.

The works seems to have remained in operation until it was transferred in 1860 to Sir James Duke and Nephews. That firm continued the production of porcelain and Parian ware and received praise for their displays at the 1862 London International Exhibition. Yet in 1864 the pottery was being offered for sale, freehold:

'an important, substantial and well arranged China and Earthenware manufactory in the centre of Burslem, as formerly carried on with so great success by S Alcock Esq. and now by Sir James Duke & Nephews, together with fixtures and utensils (with which the premises are replete) and also the stock-in-trade and connections.

This concern which is capable of being divided into three distinct manufactories offers a favourable opportunity seldom to be met with for enterprising capitalists.' ²

Subsequent advertisements indicated the returns that might be expected - £60,000 annual turnover on which a profit of 10 per cent could be realised 'with proper management.' ³ The capital needed for the purchase price was about £35,000 and the possible profits were

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1. Staffordshire Advertiser 15 October 1859
 2. Staffordshire Advertiser 20 February 1864
 3. Staffordshire Advertiser 27 February 1864

suggested to be 15 - 20 per cent after payment of 5 per cent interest on capital and the expenses of management. The Hill Pottery Co Ltd was established in 1865 with a capital of £100,000 divided into shares of £10 each. Yet by 1867 they were in liquidation and the Hill Pottery was again offered for sale, an additional advantage according to the advertisement was

'a first class body of operatives and employees and as the liquidator has determined to carry on operations of the concern with vigour until it is disposed of, a purchases can at once come into the connection and profits of the concern.' 1

The buyer was Thomas Ford, in whose hands the Pottery remained for many years, although there were many changes of tenant. At that point the pottery was split into a china works and an earthenware works. The china section was taken by a George Alcock, who does not seem to be a member of the Alcock family, and Thomas Diggory who had worked for S Alcock & Co for more than 30 years. In September 1870 E F Bodley replaced Alcock and the firm became Bodley & Diggory, but in 1871 Thomas Diggory gave up, leaving Bodley in sole control until 1874 when he was joined by his son, Edwin James Drew Bodley who ran the china works from 1875 to 1892, when he went bankrupt. His china was considered to be of good quality, with a high standard of decoration and in 'good taste'. From 1882 he ran a rebuilt Crown Works in conjunction with the Hill Pottery china works. After Bodley the china works changed hands a number of times, from 1895 to 1897 it was worked by Messrs A Heath & Co and then seems to have been converted to earthenware manufacture and was let to E J Oliver.

The Hill Pottery earthenware works was first let in 1867 to Burgess, Leigh & Co, a firm that dated back to 1851, as Hulme & Booth they were at the Central Pottery. The partners who took the

1. Staffordshire Advertiser 12 January 1867

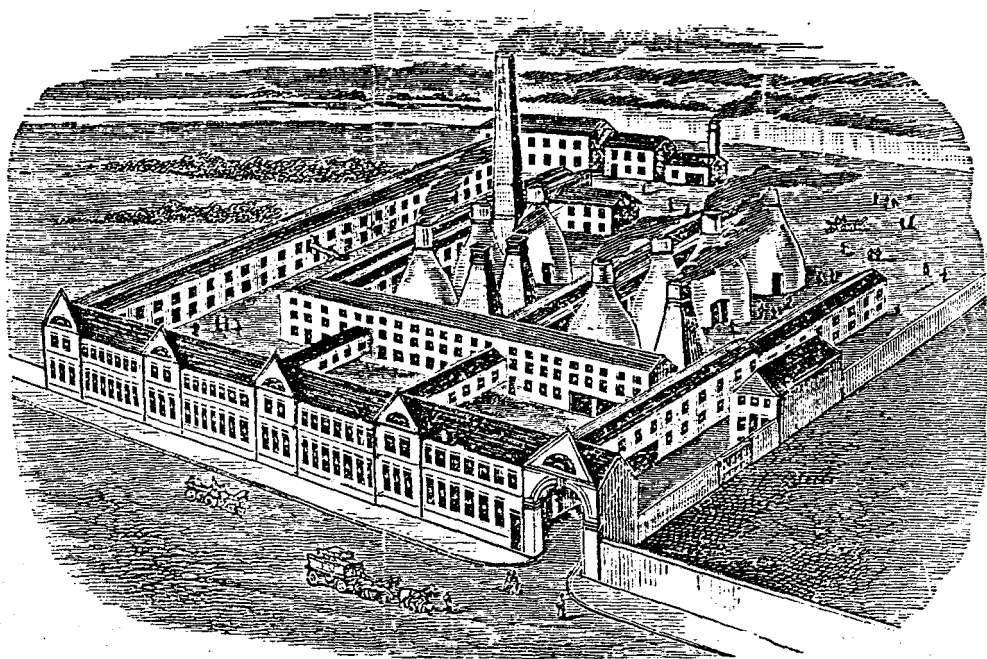
Telegrams: "Burleigh, Burslem."

Telephone 327 Potteries.

Burgess & Leigh

MIDDLEPORT POTTERY,

BURSLEM, Staffs.



Manufacturers of the Celebrated . . .

BURLEIGH WARE

Highest Grade Semi-Porcelain and General
Earthenware.

LONDON SHOWROOMS:	44, Farringdon Street, E.C.
AUSTRALIAN	51, Paling's Buildings, Sydney.
NEW ZEALAND	28, Fort Street, Auckland.

Hill Pottery in 1867 were Frederick Rathbone Burgess, William Leigh and Frederick Lownds Goode. Mr Goode retired in 1877 and the firm became Burgess & Leigh. They made household earthenware, printed bowls, jugs, mugs, kitchen, tea and dinner ware. They spent just over twenty years at the Hill Pottery before moving to the newly built Middleport Pottery in 1889. Sadly, William Leigh did not live to see the move as he died in February 1889.¹

With the departure of Burgess & Leigh the works was offered to let in 1890 and in 1892 a James Vernon was making earthenware there, though by 1900 it was let to A J Wilkinson & Co (Ltd). In 1900 the whole of the Hill Pottery was offered for sale, and appeared to have been split into three sections, the china section being used for earthenware, the earthenware section and a part used by Samuel Johnson for jet and rockingham ware. In 1907 Samuel Johnson still had a jet and rockingham ware works at the Hill Pottery and Messrs Brown & Steventon were listed at the Royal Pottery, which might have been the remaining portion of the Hill Pottery, as the Royal Hotel was next door and had been part of the estate owned by the Alcocks.

A specialised form of china ware manufactured by a number of firms in Burslem was that of door furniture, such as finger plates, door handles, key escutcheons, bell pulls, drawer handles, number plates, handles for beer engines, for scoops, for perambulators

1. William Leigh - He had been a member of the Local Board of Health and was one of the first aldermen of the Borough in 1878, a Liberal and a Wesleyan, he was also interested in the building society movement.

and other small china articles. The Crown Works in Market Place was used for this type of product by Emery & Lea, then by Lea, Smith & Boulton and finally by Gaskell, Son & Co, until taken by E J D Bodley from 1882 until 1892. Subsequently it was used by C Simpson and Co for earthenware and sanitary ware. Gaskell moved to Longport where R T Grocott, who had been a partner from at least 1875, finally had his partnership officially recognised and the firm was called Gaskell & Grocott. There was a period in the late 1880s and early 1890s when the firm was called Grocott & Dickenson but by 1907 it had reverted to being called Gaskell & Grocott.

A well known firm in the door furniture trade was established at the Washington Works on Waterloo Road. In 1847 William Sadler Kennedy had moved there and made artists' palettes and ceramic letters as well as door furniture. He exhibited at the Great Exhibition of 1851 and his work was considered 'very excellent in design and execution.'¹ In 1852 Kennedy was joined by his brother-in-law, James Macintyre, and in 1854 left the Potteries for London, where he died in 1865. Macintyre took over the company at the beginning of 1855 and maintained and developed the high reputation that had been established.. In the middle 1860s William Woodall was taken into partnership, as was Thomas Hulme(W). James Macintyre died in 1868 but the firm continued to be known as James Macintyre & Co. He was considered a good employer despite 'some faults of temper' and the relationship between employer and workpeople was considered to have 'an amount of cordiality, frankness and honest effort not often surpassed in such establishments.'²

1. Illustrated London News 4 July 1851 Volume 2, P.126

2. Staffordshire Advertiser 26 December 1868 - Obituary Notice.

Macintyre's, together with other china door-furniture manufacturers experimented with the manufacture of electrical porcelain. It was work that required a high degree of excellence and precision in manufacture and was not suitable for earthenware manufacturers. The products included switches, fuse bridges, resistance cylinder, lamp holders and insulators.

The manufacture of high quality decorative china was rather limited in Burslem, Davenport's were one firm, Alcock's another, but both had gone out of business. The Dalehall Works in Stubbs Street under a succession of partners, notably the Mayer Brothers, made some high quality ware but ordinary household earthenware was also produced. Pinder, Bourne & Co of Nile Street had been producing some decorative ware but in 1877 were in financial difficulties, Henry Doulton of Lambeth was approached by T Shadford Pinder and agreed to invest £12,000 in the firm. It gave Doulton a base in the Staffordshire Potteries and as the firm also made sanitary pottery and insulators it broadened the range of Doulton products. The company remained in the control of Pinder but conflict with Doulton led to his retirement in 1881 and in 1882 the name was changed to Doulton & Co. The company went from strength to strength, in 1877 about 160 had been employed, by 1889 about 1200 were employed, Doulton's had the 'largest staff of decorators in the Potteries' and many of the artists had trained at the School of Art in the Wedgwood Memorial Institute. Adjoining works were taken over and extensions were built so that Doulton's became the largest firm in Burslem and made the widest range of earthenware and china goods in the town.¹

1. G W & F A Rhead - Staffordshire Pots and Potters, P.313
Desmond Eyles - Royal Doulton 1815-1965

Some of the Burslem firms specialised, a few, such as Hallen's of Wellington Street and Wade's of High Street made ware such as shuttle-eyes and creel steps for textile machinery; William Kent of the Novelty Works, Wellington Street made Staffordshire figures. Particularly at the end of the nineteenth century a number of firms concentrated on teapots, especially in jet, samian or rockingham ware - Gibson and Sudlow have already been mentioned, but other firms included King & Barrett at Bourne's Bank, H J Wood at the Alexandra Pottery, Navigation Road, James Sadler & Son at the Wellington Works, Newport Street.

An expanding branch of the earthenware business was that of the manufacture of encaustic tiles, especially after the development of the tile press in the 1860s by William Boulton. Major tile firms were T & R Boote of Waterloo Potteries, Malkin, Edge & Co of the Newport Works, W & E Corn of the Top Bridge Works, several of these firms began by making tiles in addition to their normal range of earthenware but by the twentieth century the tiles had become dominant and even the sole product and tile making became a separate branch of the trade.

Whilst some of the manufacturers became closely involved in public affairs, as members of the local Boards, and manufacturers' associations, others took no such active part, some preferring to move away from the Potteries and enjoy the country life, such as T Boote. Most of the manufacturers moved to more salubrious parts such as Porthill in Wolstanton, several built large houses there, it was a pleasant place but close enough to Burslem for them not to lose touch with their works. As a group they covered such a wide range of background, education, financial resource, religious denomination and political viewpoint that they could not be considered

a homogenous group representing a particular point of view in any argument; they dominated the elected bodies mainly because there were so many of them.

Section III

Colour Works

These made and ground the colours for the pottery manufacturers and there were a number of such colour manufacturers, though one family did occupy a more prominent place than others. Francis Emery senior founded his business in 1845 in Cobridge, after his death in 1857 the colour making was continued by two of his sons - Robert Emery and Joseph Peter Emery - as Francis Emery & Sons, but about 1877 they decided to split the business. Robert Emery built a new colour works on Waterloo Road to make colours for sale in the Potteries only, while J P Emery remained in the Grange Street Works and produced colours for export and for the home market, outside the Potteries. A third son, Francis Joseph Emery, was more interested in the manufacture of earthenware, he introduced a process of decorating unglazed ware with ceramic crayons and took out patents in 1859 and 1865 in conjunction with T Furnival & Sons, for whom he had worked as a cashier. In the 1870s F J Emery decided to become an earthenware manufacturer and took the Churchyard Works for a while before moving to the Bleakhill Works in 1879, in 1884 he was in financial difficulties and eventually went bankrupt in 1894 blaming his failure on

'heavy expenditure on fitting up a new portion of the works, the continued fall in price of manufactured stock without an equivalent in price of materials or workmanship, and prostration of American business'¹

Another colour manufacturer in Burslem was Thomas Brougham who had a business dating back to 1825 and in 1861 had a works on Newport Lane.

1. Staffordshire Advertiser - 14 April 1894

Another old established firm was that of Joseph Twigg & Son of Hanover Street which began in 1814. Colour manufacturers were specialists, only one pottery firm also made colours, that was J & G Hobson of Albert Street.

Section IV

Mills

There were two types of milling in Burslem, flour milling and flint grinding. The Port Vale corn mill was by the canal at Bridge Street, Longport and in 1850 was in the hands of Samuel Fitton. Fitton continued to operate the mill until the mid-1850s and in 1864 it was being run by Robert Cliffe though by 1870 the firm of Fitton & Pidduck, worked the mill and Samuel Fitton was living at Evesham in 1875. The Sytch mill was also used for corn grinding with Charles Ball in the 1860s and by T Jones for flint grinding in 1875 though in 1879 it seemed to mill both corn and flint. It was not listed subsequently. There was another mill at Lower Hadderidge, in 1864 it was being worked by R Williams and may have been the mill advertised in 1860:-

'To be let - Steam Flour Mill, situated in Burslem. Mill and machinery all new and in good working order. Engine 12 h.p. works two pairs of stones with screen flour machine. Apply R Williams, Miller.' ¹

In 1879 it was being worked by George Jones and in the 1880s and 1890s by George Cockson Jones. By 1907 flour milling had been concentrated at Middleport, with Fitton & Pidduck Ltd's Hungarian Roller Flour Mills on Bridge Street, Malkin Bros. at New Mills on Luke Street, and John Shaw on Newport Lane.

1. Staffordshire Advertiser - 29 September 1860

Flint grinding was an important ancilliary industry for the pottery industry. Flint was a constituent of earthenware and was imported from the south coast of England and from France. It was calcined and then crushed in the mills of some of the pottery firms and of specialist flint grinders. Flint mills were also used to grind other materials used in the pottery industry, such as glazes and colours. The Jackfield mill was worked by Ralph Clews in 1851 and by George Mellor in 1867, by 1879 the firm was G & J Mellor but it was last listed in 1892 and was no longer in existence in 1907. The Furlong mills were worked by John & William Goodwin in 1851, by Wedgwood & Clive in 1867 and from then on by the Furlong Mill Company, in the charge of a manager. Edward Corn, an earthenware manufacturer had a flint mill on North Road from at least 1867 to 1892, later it was taken by Messrs Oliver & Son until 1900.

'Auction - Flint Mill, Flint Street, near North Road, recently occupied by Messrs Oliver & Son, rent £120 p.a. Used for Grinding flint, stone, glaze, colour, other Potters' materials - North Road Flint Mill, also two cottage houses adjoining and strip of land. Machinery fittings, fixtures, engine boiler, four body and glaze pans, five colour pans.' ¹

Mr John Oliver senior had begun milling at Fountain Place and was joined by his two sons, John and Thomas Oliver. In 1896 Oliver senior retired and the business was continued by the two sons at Fountain Place, then North Road and then at the Longport mill previously worked by earthenware manufacturer Thomas Hughes. They built new mills in Newport Lane into which they moved at the beginning of 1910, but in March 1910 John Oliver junior died at the age of 49

1. Staffordshire Advertiser - 22 September 1900

so did not live to see his new mill in action for very long. The Legal Mill Company had a mill between Velvet Street and Croft Street, not far from the Parish Church, by 1884 it was being run by Thomas Malkin who not only ground flint but also made potters' press cloths, Malkin was listed at a Flint Works on Newport Lane in a 1907 directory but at Legal Mill in 1908. The earthenware manufacturers who also had flint mills included Bates, Elliott & Co. on Lyndhurst Street until at least 1897, Charles Hobson & Son had a flint mill by their earthenware works on Albert Street, until the 1890s, Thomas Hughes had a flint mill at Longport until it was taken over by Messrs Oliver. In 1850 John Maddock was grinding flints at Newcastle Street. By 1907 flint milling had also concentrated on the Middleport and Longport area - Goodwin's Mills Company had a mill on Bridge Street, the North Staffordshire Pulverising Company had a mill on Newport Lane and Oliver & Son were at Longport.

Section V

The Engineering and Metal Trades

In the 1850s there were a number of small metal work businesses, such as blacksmiths, whitesmiths, tinnerns and braziers. Only one blacksmith also described himself as a potters' tool manufacturer and there were only three iron and brass founders, one on Liverpool Road and two in Cobridge.¹ Some metal workers were more versatile than others, in 1864 Lewis Hall considered himself a brazier, locksmith, bell hanger, gasfitter, tin and iron plate worker and he was an agent for the British Nation Life Assurance Company.²

The potters' tool industry was on a relatively small scale at first, the main products being hand tools for shaping, lathes and jiggers, and the pottery works were slow to mechanise in any way. the man who did more for the pottery machine industry than anyone else, William Boulton, began work in Burslem in 1852 with a small business on Moorland Road in partnership with Benjamin Brough. Boulton had received a wide training in engineering, having been apprenticed to the firm of Firmstone who had an engineering and colliery works at Madeley in Staffordshire, he later moved to the works of the L.N.W.R. Company at Crewe, Manchester and Bury.³ Brough died in 1856 at the early age of 32 and Boulton continued, usually without partners. He moved to Navigation Road where he opened the Providence Works, by 1870 he described himself as:-

'general engineer, millwright; iron and brass founder; inventor, patentee and manufacturer of Potters' machinery and drying stoves, brick and quarry presses and moulds, for soft and dry clays, hoists, weighing machines, mortar mills and every description of castings and machinery for collieries, oil-works, potteries, builders and brick and tile manufacturers. N.B. - Contracts given for fire-proof floor castings.' ⁴

1. White's Directory 1851

2. Jones' Directory 1864

3. Pottery Gazette - 1 October 1896 (Local Newscuttings Volume IV p.1

4. Harrod's Directory 1870

and by 1875 Boulton had extended his works onto Pleasant Street.

In 1860 he had won a competition to invent a better and more efficient drying stove, that would also be less harmful to the health of the workpeople. Between 1860 and 1897 he took out 23 patents on his inventions and the range of his products is indicated by an exhibition he held in 1879 in Hanley where he showed the transmission of motive power by an endless round band; a combined jigger and jolly for cups; powered throwing wheel; powered lathe; a batting-out machine; a colour grinding machine and an improved jolly and filter presses and a model of a blunger.¹ In 1884 he showed a cup or bowl making machine and a plate machine which made two bats and two plates at the same time.² All Boulton's machines were designed for greater mechanisation and a lesser manual effort, for example, machinery for making cups, jars and large work dispensed with the services of throwers and could be worked by a woman and two boys, who were paid lower wages than the throwers. Mechanisation was seen as a way of reducing costs and therefore prices and extending sales in the period of depression in the late 1870s and 1880s and more and more firms did introduce some mechanisation, especially when building new works as the machinery could be installed as an integral part of the works.

William Boulton frequently exhibited his machinery in Britain and abroad but by the 1890s thought that 'from the constant advantages taken by the foreigner I think it now pays me better not to exhibit.'³ He frequently acted as a consultant for potters' machinery and other engineering subjects, travelling as far afield as

1. Staffordshire Advertiser - 12 July 1879, local Newscuttings Volume 1 p.231

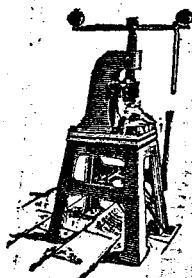
2. Local Newscuttings Volume 1 p.244

3. Pottery Gazette - October 1st 1896; also in local Newscuttings Volume 4 p.1.

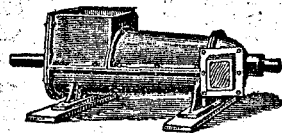
William Boulton, Burslem, Staffordshire,

Telegraphic Address—"BOULTONS, BURSLEM,"
MANUFACTURER OF THE

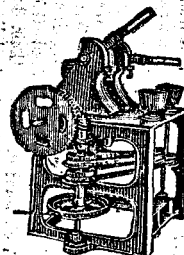
LATEST IMPROVED POTTERY & ENCAUSTIC TILE MAKING MACHINERY.



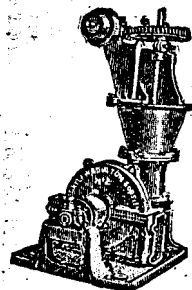
HORSEHEAD TILE PRESS.



IMPROVED POTTERS' PUG MILL.



ALTERNATE AUTOMATIC
DOUBLE JIGGER AND JOLLEY.



DAMPED CLAY PULVERIZER
OR DUST MILL.

PATENT AUTOMATIC DOUBLE JIGGER AND JOLLEY

Makes a very large quantity of Cups, Bowls, &c., &c.

Patent Blungers, Pumps, Presses, Sifters, Throwing Wheels, Lathes, Jiggers, Whirlers, and Jolleys. Also Flint, Stone, Bone, Glaze, Colour, Gold, Borax, and other Mills, and Magnetising Machines. Encaustic and Plain Tile Presses, Moulds, Pattern Plates, Dry Clay Crushing and Grinding Mills, and

NEW PATENT DAMPED CLAY PULVERIZER.

Drying Stoves heated by exhaust or fresh Steam, and by the High-pressure Hot-water principle.
POTTERIES AND TILE WORKS FITTED COMPLETE AT HOME AND ABROAD. PARTICULARS ON APPLICATION.

1892-93

Norway in the course of such work. Boulton's experience with drying stoves for earthenware works extended to the general field of heating engineering and he was responsible for the heating apparatus in many of the public buildings and schools in Burslem. Boulton died in 1900, but the company continued and was a limited liability firm by 1907.

Whilst William Boulton was pre-eminent in the field of invention and development he had no monopoly in Burslem or in the Potteries, within five years of his patent blunger being introduced a Tunstall firm had produced an improved version. In 1879 there were three other firms making potters' tools and lathes, in 1892 there was only one other firm involved, that of Thomas Willett & Co. Thomas Willett had begun as a blacksmith about 1879, by 1884 he was a potters' lathe maker in partnership with Ralph Steele and Isaac Matthews junior. The firm were involved in a legal action with William Boulton in 1892 but continued in business.

There were other engineering businesses; the Cobridge foundry on Waterloo Road continued for many years in the control of the Hale family, the Waterloo foundry changed hands and was later run by the Kidsgrave engineering firm of Barker & Cope but had closed by 1875. Charles Billington had the Vulcan foundry at Longport in 1871 and by 1875 had been joined by a partner, the firm became Billington & Newton and concentrated on making particular types of metals for engineering purposes, such as phosphor bronze, phosphor tin, phosphor copper, and manganese bronze.

By 1907 there were still individual metal workers working on a small scale but there were more and larger companies engaged in the manufacture of more sophisticated machines.

Section VI

The Mining Industry - Coal and Ironstone

Mining was the second industry to pottery. The coal was used locally, both for domestic use and industrial use, principally in firing the kilns and ovens for the potteries. The ironstone was prepared in the district by calcining, but was generally used outside the district, though there were about four iron foundries in Burslem and Cobridge.

In the 1850s and 1860s there were a number of collieries worked via a large number of pits. Coal and ironstone were found in conjunction in many pits and were worked together. These pits, delphs and footrails were not deep, equipment was minimal, the coal and iron was cut by hand and hauled out by hand, lighting was by the naked flame, though inflammable gas was not met with as frequently as in the deeper and more complex mines of later years. Water was drained off rather than pumped out through adits and gullies, one gully extended from Scotia to Longport, another ran from the Sneyd mines to near the Burslem canal.¹

An example of the small scale and shallowness of these mines can be seen in the accident which occurred in 1857. The mine was owned by the Misses Adams of Cobridge and was let to Samuel Fox and Mr Tinsley. A total of eleven men and boys were working in the mine, including Fox and Tinsley. The roof came within five feet of a six foot deep fishpond on the land above. The water flooded into the mine and all escaped except Mr Tinsley who was drowned. The accident was investigated by the Government Inspector who laid six charges against Mr Fox - of neglecting to fence a working pit, neglecting to have an

1. North Staffordshire Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers Transactions Volume XI 1891 - Inaugural address of William Heath as President.

adequate break (sic) on a machine for lowering persons, not providing proper means of signalling from the bottom of the shaft to the surface, neglecting to post up statutory rules, neglecting to have a break attached to another machine, neglecting to fence an unworked pit. Fox pleaded guilty and was fined five shillings (25p) on the first charge and one shilling (5p) on the others, with costs his total fine was only £2-3s (£2-15) and none of the charges had directly related to the accident.¹

The coalfield provided a wide variety of coal, which was useful for different types of purpose, the best for potters' use was Rowhurst coal, a particularly hard coal was Cannel. These different kinds could be found in close proximity. The Jackfield Colliery, which covered 48 acres had four main mines - the Cannel mine for ironstone, the Chalky mine, the Little mine and the New mine for coal and ironstone, also available were Winhay (also spelt Winghay) coal, Winhay ironstone, Rowhurst coal and Burnwood coal and ironstone.²

Ironstone mining expanded considerably in the 1850s and 1860s especially in the hamlet of Sneyd. The Local Board of Health in 1856 complained that:

'the ironstone mines of this district are being worked to an extent hitherto unknown, the whole of the ore, after it is calcined, being removed from the district to be converted into iron elsewhere; the serious deterioration of lands and buildings by working such mines; the heavy wear and tear of the highways from the cartage of ironstone; the Local Board cannot but regard the exemption of ironstone mines from being rateable as a great hardship, and unfair to the rate-payers generally.'³

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1. Staffordshire Advertiser - 13 June 1857 and 11 July 1857
 2. Staffordshire Advertiser - 16 May 1857
 3. Local Board of Health Clerk's Reports - 1851 - 1871.

Damage done by mining operations was repaired by the mine proprietors but the damage to the roads, especially the Hamil road, had to be paid for by the ratepayers of Sneyd and in 1864 their rates were 1s 4d (7p) in the pound higher than those of Burslem or Rushton Grange and the rates went almost entirely on road repairs leaving little for other improvements in the district. In 1866 the Local Board supported a Bill introduced into the House of Commons for the rating of ironstone mines, but the Bill was withdrawn. The increase in population in the district in the decade 1861 to 1871 was attributed to the expansion in ironstone mining but thereafter there was a decline. The shallower pits became worked out and the fall in the price received for the iron to about half made it uneconomic to develop deeper mines.¹

Coal mining suffered a setback for a different reason. The mines on a rough line through the Pinnox, Scotia, Bycars, Jackfield and the Stanfield and Sneyd Collieries were all affected by flooding which closed most of them, some permanently. The Cobridge mines were unaffected. The flooding became noticeable in 1871 when a brook at Tunstall was allowed to get into bad condition and pumping stopped at the Scotia pit. The water level in the nearby Bycars pit rose and the very wet weather aggravated the problem, the water began to overflow into the deeper seams and several collieries were affected. At this stage joint action by the colliery proprietors was needed as the water level was rising by 18 inches a week. The estimated cost of pumping out the water was £10,700 with an annual maintenance cost of £2,900 or 1½d (¾p) a ton on an annual yield of 500,000 tons. In

¹. Staffordshire Sentinel - 24 April 1890 - Article on the Development of the Burslem Coalfield. Local Newscuttings Volume 4, page 134.

NORTH-EAST BURSLEM



spite of the cessation of work facing the proprietors joint action proved impossible, a meeting in May 1871 failed to attract the representatives of one of the largest collieries affected. In November 1871 it was decided to apply for an Act of Parliament to enable the owners and lessees of the mines to adopt a combined system of drainage and adjust the charge according to the benefit received by each mine. The Bill failed and a coffer dam which might have kept the water back was not maintained, the result was "desolate waste heaps and bricked up shafts".

In 1883 the mines were still full of water but there was no financial incentive to restore them. Coal was coming into the district from Derbyshire and Cannock Chase at a cheaper rate than it could be mined in North Staffordshire. The Chatterly-Whitfield Collieries Company which had taken the Scotia and Pinnox mines did not work them because they had their "great pit" at Whitfield supplying Burslem and Tunstall.¹

The Sneyd Colliery was furthest from the source of the flooding but it was affected, and in 1875 the proprietors, C & J May went bankrupt. They had taken a 21 year lease in 1871 with a minimum dead rent of £1,000 a year plus royalties payable to the Earl of Macclesfield. The lease was taken by the Sneyd Colliery Company the partners being William Heath, Arthur Dean, W A M Tellwright and John Heath, a limited liability company was formed in 1881. Sneyd Colliery consisted of more than a mine, there was an engine and working plant above and below ground, there were lime kilns, a pipe, tile and brick works which used a large quantity of the coal and slack mined from the pits and also

1. Extracts from the column "Report from North and South Staffordshire" in Mining Journal for 11 May 1871, 18 May 1871, 10 June 1871, 22 June 1871, 2 September 1871, 4 November 1871, 18 November 1871 North Staffordshire Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers Transactions Volume VI - 1883-84, page 82, August 1883.

supplied ground marl to other manufacturers. An oil distillery, which had cost £5,000, made 24 tons of crude oil a week out of oil shales in 40 retorts.¹

The new Company found that the lower seams were flooded to a depth of 200 yards. This water was quickly removed when automatic pumps were installed and they could keep the mine clear of water with five hours pumping out of 24. The Company went from strength to strength, they took the leases of the Stanfield and the Jackfield Collieries, of the Green Bank and Camp Meadows pits and hoped to take in the Sneyd Green Colliery in the early 1890s.²

The managing director, until the death of William Woodall, when he succeeded as Chairman of the Directors, was William Heath. He had begun work in a mine at the age of ten, although his father had wanted him to be apprenticed to a bootmaker. When he was 15 he moved from Talke o' th' Hill to Congleton where his parents had taken a farm, but at the age of 18 years he was put in charge of the only part of the mine to give off firedamp. Thirty years of mine management with "industry and steady application" followed before he became the senior partner in the Sneyd Colliery Company. At Sneyd he abolished the "butty" system by which the few who contracted for the getting of the coal made a large profit at the expense of the majority of the miners.³ In his presidential address to the North Staffordshire Institute of Mining and Mechanical Engineers in 1891 he listed the ways that mining had changed in the half century he had known it. The mines of the early 1890s were much deeper with much more powerful winding engines, lighting was by electricity and the miners had safety lamps; ventilation to ensure that

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1. Staffordshire Advertiser - 15 May 1875. Men of the Period - William Heath.
 2. Staffordshire Sentinel - 26 April 1890
 3. Obituary notice - 3 April 1903, Local Newscuttings Volume 7 page 31.

dangerous gases did not accumulate was given considerable attention. The miner had the assistance of diamond tipped drills, drills powered by steam and compressed air, stronger and safer explosives instead of gunpowder. Coal cutting machines had been developed but the lie of the seams was against their introduction at that time into the Sneyd pits. The coal was hauled out of the pits on rails and pulled by machines. The work of the miner and especially that of the mine manager had become much more technical and scientific, the rule of thumb days had passed.

Another change was that instead of a large number of small entrances Sneyd Colliery established only one entrance with the accompanying engines and head gear which did away with between half a dozen and a dozen pit entrances which had existed in the 1870s. The Company also filled in some of the old shallow shafts and levelled off the surface of the land in an environmental improvement scheme.¹

A major land reclamation scheme was Burslem Park. It was constructed near the old Jackfield colliery and the costs of levelling the site and filling in the old pit shafts with 48,000 loads of filling were considerably in excess of the original estimates.² At the time the site of the lake was found to have a rotten bottom, but in 1921 the lake disappeared completely when the cover of an old colliery shaft collapsed.

Coal mining, in spite of the set-back of flooded pits, remained the second largest employer, in 1901 there were 1,069 coal and shale miners, males over the age of ten years, in Burslem, though building and construction workers numbered 1,018.³

1. Staffordshire Sentinel - 26 April 1890

2. Staffordshire Advertiser - 12 May 1894

3. Census of 1901

Mining and Trade Unions

Union activities began on a small scale in 1842 with some 2,000 members of a union based on the Scotia pits and pits at Lane End. For a year the Scotia pit had an eight hour day but the longer hours worked at other collieries forced them back to longer hours. The union remained small and a strike at the Kidsgrove Collieries failed in the early 1860s. In 1869 it joined the National Amalgamated Association with 530½ members though the membership rose to some 12,000 in 1874. However the union was unable to prevent a series of wage reductions and in 1877 membership had slumped back to 500. The miners of Talke, Kidsgrove and Audley formed a separate union which was affiliated to the Lancashire Miners' Federation and at this point Enoch Edwards began to play an important part in the growth and development of the miners' union.¹

Edwards was the son of a pitman and was born at Talke o' th' Hill, at the age of nine he began work at the Hollinwood Colliery where he worked from 6 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. or later, being paid 6d. (2½p) a day and later 5s (25p) a week. He was mainly self-educated though he had received some education at the Primitive Methodist Day School, he was encouraged to read by a pitman who gave him a book and he attended evening classes organised as the Young Men's Improvement Class. In 1869 he moved to the Talke o' th' hill pit and in 1870 he joined and was made treasurer of a Lodge of the North Staffordshire Miners' Association, the Butt Lane branch. In 1873 he was involved in a pit accident; though he was unhurt he carried out the body of

1. The Trades Union Congress - Hanley meeting 1905 - The History of the Staffordshire Potteries compiled by H Barnett-Greene. The North Staffordshire Miners' Association, page 81.

James Finney, brother of Samuel Finney who worked with him in union affairs for many years. In 1874 he went to work for the Harecastle Colliery Company who offered him a position of responsibility which he declined, the following year, after his marriage, he was appointed checkweighman for the men, a post which he held until 1880.

In the second half of the 1870s Edwards became District Secretary of the Ancient Order of Shepherds, after being secretary of the Talke branch. He retained the post until January 1892 including two years as auditor and two years on the Management Committee. He was also a member of the Ancient Order of Foresters.

Edwards's involvement with union work began to expand, in 1875 he was appointed treasurer of the North Staffordshire Miners' Association and in 1878 their general secretary and agent, a position he held until his death, 34 years later. The first major strike in which he was involved occurred in 1883. It lasted for 22 weeks, Edwards was always in favour of conciliation and arbitration rather than confrontation and militant action and had suggested arbitration before the strike began. At that time he was President of the Lancashire Miners' Federation to which the North Staffordshire Association was affiliated. After this strike he moved from Talke to Burslem and began organising the Midland Miners' Federation encompassing North and South Staffordshire, East Worcestershire, the whole of Shropshire and Warwickshire. He was elected the first President in 1886 and continued to be President until his death.

In Burslem Edwards entered civic affairs, in March 1886 he was elected onto the School Board and remained on the Board continuously until 1895 when he was not re-elected. In 1898 he came top of the poll but resigned in July 1899 with just over ten years service to the School Board. He stood for the Town Council in 1886 but was not elected, he became a councillor in an uncontested by-election in April 1887 and continued as a councillor for the East Ward from then on, never contesting an election. He became an alderman in 1901 until 1906. He was Mayor for the year 1899 to 1900, apparently one of the first working men to be appointed to the civic chair of an English borough.

His career in the union movement continued, in 1888 he was appointed treasurer of the Miners' National Conference and in 1890 was elected treasurer of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain to which post he was re-elected until 1904. Then he succeeded Ben Pickard as President of the Federation and was President at his death in 1912.

In the 1893 dispute he was the Midland member of the deputation which visited Downing Street in March. However it was a local incident that made a very strong impression on the miners:

"he had pledged his word to the Chief Constable of the County that extra police protection would not be required in North Staffordshire and felt very much annoyed and somewhat personally discredited by the action of a section of trade unionists at Longton in creating a disturbance by interfering with the men at the Ubbertley pit. He accordingly called a meeting at very short notice for the express purpose of telling the men what he thought about them. And this he proceeded to do in a manner that very few labour leaders would care to imitate. The rating they received is talked of to this day. He told the men that the employers in that district did not lock them out and no man who valued his character should stand up there and say one word derogatory to them. Of course Mr Edwards may not always have acted wisely but in the main his conduct in dealing with labour disputes has commended itself to the judgement of employers and workmen alike. He is quick in getting to the bottom of a

dispute and with his admittedly great influence over the men and the respect entertained for him by employers he will find a via media out of the difficulty which will be acceptable to both parties - that is if the dispute is at all capable of settlement. His services, by the way, are very frequently in request to settle disputes in mining districts far removed from his own county." 1

True to his desire for conciliation he was a member of the Federation sub-committee which met the coal-owners in November 1893 and was a representative of the Federation at the settlement conference a little later in the month. He was the miners' representative on the Board of Conciliation for the Coal Trade of the Federated Districts, and later Chairman of the English Coal Trade Conciliation Board. The 1893 dispute had arisen because the employers had asked for a 25 per cent reduction in wages because of poor trade. After a 16 week stoppage a settlement was worked out by Lord Rosebery, the miners resumed work at the old rates and the Conciliation Board settled on a minimum of not less than 30 per cent above the 1888 rates, this was a reduction of 10 per cent as wages had been 40 per cent above the 1888 rates. The minimum was raised to 37½ per cent and further improvements followed.

Edwards also promoted the work of the International Miners' Congress, in 1902 he attended a Labour Conference in the U.S.A. and was received by President Roosevelt, in 1894 he had attended the Congress in Berlin, he also went to Congresses in France, Belgium, Austria and England. To the 21st International Miners' Conference in Brussels in 1910 Edwards defined the objects of the Federation of Great Britain, which were:

"to reduce the hours of labour, to increase the standard of living, to seek to bring down to the lowest possible minimum the terrible waste and havoc in human life . .

1. Staffordshire Weekly Sentinel - 20 November 1899, Local Newscuttings Volume 3 page 190-191.

in all these desires for better wages and better conditions and better treatment, we must seek to protect their lives while following their occupation, and also, in seeking in their old age to find them some pension, to make the declining years of these old soldiers of industry as comfortable and as pleasant and agreeable as we possibly can." 1

As in mining affairs so in public affairs Edwards moved from the local scene to the national scene. He had not been selected as a parliamentary candidate in 1892 for the Liberal party though the North Staffordshire Miners' Federation had nominated him for the Newcastle-under-Lyme seat. However on the retirement of William Woodall from the Hanley seat in 1900 he was selected by the Liberal party to fight the 1900 election. Edwards was always a Liberal and stood by the old Liberal motto of 'peace, retrenchment and reform.' However he insisted on a definite understanding that he would be clear to act freely and independently on all purely labour questions. In other respects he would further the interests of all trades and institutions in the district, he wanted better housing for the working classes, easier conditions for entry to the voters' register, the broadest possible government for Ireland, on temperance he was in favour of Sunday closing but had no objection to well run public houses, a stance which pleased both sides of the temperance question, on the South African war he regretted the down fall of the republics but supported the Government because of the betrayal by Kruger. However, the swing was against the Liberals and Edwards did not retain the long-held Liberal seat of Hanley, though only by 642 votes. He remained Liberal candidate for the

1. Quoted in R. Page Arnot "The Miners - A History of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain 1889-1910"

constituency and in the Liberal landslide of 1906 was elected with a majority of 4,896 over the sitting Conservative A H Heath. In Parliament Edwards supported the Eight-Hour Bill, a measure of which he had been in favour since 1891 mainly because of its benefit to young workers. In 1909 the Miners' Federation of Great Britain affiliated to the Labour Party, though Edwards always retained his Liberal opinions and was not a socialist, at the 1910 elections he was described as a Lib-Lab candidate. He opposed Mr Rittner and twice defeated him though with a reduced majority on each occasion, 3997 in January and 3683 in December.

From 1909 onwards he had seen trouble between the miners and the employers coming. He warned the owners against pressing for a reduction which might lead to the end of the Board of Conciliation:

"The system of conciliation is better, after all, than the rough and tumble methods of strife with all its drawbacks, and there is always this solid advantage that you (the employers) do keep the continuity of peace generally . . .

. . . I am satisfied that to do it (reduce wages) now in the present temper of the men generally would do more to destroy the principle of conciliation in this area than anything that has happened for a long time." ¹

However, Edwards' efforts to maintain peace on the coalfields eventually failed and the 1912 strike came at a time when he was not in very good health. The strain proved too great, he suffered a collapse and died whilst recuperating at Southport in June 1912. His family felt that the strike had accelerated his death, it was doubly sad for he had always wanted conciliation and arbitration in trade disputes between Capital and Labour and had made great efforts to settle disputes, gaining the trust of both the miners

¹ Quotes in R. Page Arnot The Miners - A History of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain

and the employers. He was a man of considerable personal integrity and with courageous independence. In his lifetime he had contributed to the union movement locally, nationally and internationally. His other contributions were to the Friendly Societies, to the Burslem School Board, to the Burslem Town Council, to the Staffordshire County Council, of which he was a member, to the magistrates' bench as he was a Borough Justice in Burslem from 1900 when the Borough bench was established, thanks to his efforts during his mayoral year, to Parliament and to the Liberal party.¹

Another miners' leader from Burslem, though not of the same stature as Enoch Edwards, was Samuel Finney. Born at Talke o' th' Hill in 1857 he attended the Primitive Methodist Day School until he was ten years old when he began work at the pit top of Talke Colliery. In his thirteenth year he went underground and when he was 15 his brother was killed in a pit accident. The tragedy so upset his parents that he did not return to pit work for three months. In the 1870s Finney worked both at the Talke pit and the Jammage pit, in 1881 being made checkweighman. In trade union work Finney became secretary of his local lodge and then district delegate of the North Staffordshire Miners' Federation. In 1888 he became President of the Federation and only relinquished the Presidency on the death of

1. Weekly Sentinel - 20 November 1899, Local Newscuttings Volume 3 p.190-191
County Biographies - Staffordshire 1901
Obituary - 28 June 1912, Local Newscuttings Volume 6, p.84
Reformers' Year Book 1906
Who's Who 1911
T.U.C. Hanley 1905, p.11, 23, 81.
Staffordshire Advertiser 5 January 1884, 5 May 1894, 22 Sept. 1900
27 Feb. 1904, R Page Arnot - The Miners - A History of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain 1889-1910 pages 104, 113-14, 152, 191, 234, 243, 251, 263, 318, 344-5, 362-3, 367, 369, 386, 388-90, on Eight Hour Day 186, 332, 334, History 96-7, MFGB President 322, MFGB Treasurer 108, Midland Federation President 105, on Pickard 206-7 Wages Policy 327.

Enoch Edwards when he was elected to succeed him as general secretary and agent. Finney accompanied Edwards on visits to other coalfields and assisted him in the arrangements after the Diglake explosion and the Bunker's Hill inundations. As Edwards's Parliamentary and other national duties increased Finney took over many of the local responsibilities. Like Edwards he moved to Burslem and in 1903 he was elected onto the Town Council and remained a councillor until Federation when he was elected onto the County Borough Council for Ward No.5. He was a very keen Primitive Methodist and when he was 24 it was suggested that he enter the ministry but the circumstances were not favourable, though he was a Sunday School teacher and a local preacher on the Burslem circuit; he was also secretary and treasurer and class leader of the Hamil Road Primitive Methodist Chapel. He was also a temperance man. Politically he was brought up as a Liberal and remained a Liberal although he stood for the Labour Party in the by-election after Edwards' death. In a three-cornered fight with a Liberal and a Conservative he came third. He eventually entered Parliament in an unopposed by-election in Albert Stanley's seat of North West Staffordshire in 1916, he was elected for the Burslem division in 1918 but retired from Parliament shortly before the 1922 election. In 1924 he retired from all trade union positions and he died in 1935.¹

Unionism amongst the local miners grew from a fairly shaky beginning to a position of strength for which most credit should go to Enoch Edwards supported by Samuel Finney. The position of the workers improved considerably, especially that of boys and young workers,

1. Staffordshire Sentinel - 1 December 1918. Local Newscuttings Volume 9, page 258.
Dictionary of National Labour Biography

by 1905 their hours of work had been cut by two or three hours daily. The men were more union minded and less likely to leave the union in times of depression. The North Staffordshire Federation built a Miners' Hall on Park Road in Burslem, the foundation stones were laid on 26 September 1892 and it was opened on 3 April 1893. Built of red brick with stone dressings it contained a meeting hall for 200, offices and committee rooms and residential accommodation for the general secretary and agent.¹ In 1905 the local Federation had £20,000 to their credit. Enoch Edwards wanted an easier and better life for his members and wished to achieve it without strife and anger, he always sought a solution to problems and tried to ensure that situations did not deteriorate into open conflict. He retained his influence over the men and had their trust, even after the row he gave the Longton miners. Edwards also had the trust of the employers who were prepared to talk to him, knowing that he would do his best for the miners but would try to work out a compromise.

The mining industry changed from a large number of small pits to a few large ones, methods of cutting and removing the coal changed considerably; safety in the mines was watched by Government Inspectors and the miners became strongly unionised in the years 1850 to 1910.

1. Potteries & Newcastle Directory 1907.
Kelly's Directory 1908 On the building itself

Section VII

The Brewing Industry

This industry demonstrates very clearly the movement away from numerous small units to a few large units. In the 1850s and 1860s the majority of public houses brewed their own beer, ale and porter, for example:

"To be let - Bowling Green Inn - stabling, piggery, slaughterhouse, large yard, skittle alley, brewhouse, cellaring and pumps, and water supply. Close to the Public Baths recently erected, surrounded by several large manufactories."¹

or

"To be let - immediately, a very convenient Brewery with Fixtures, capable of brewing 50 barrels per week, two-stalled stable, barrel sheds, office and capacious yard, situate in High Street, Burslem."²

By 1864 there were three brewers who supplied public houses and beerhouses - Andrew Cliff on Liverpool Road, Henry Parker on Regent Street and Thomas Tyson of the Crown Brewery. By 1872 only Henry Parker was left. Parker had been a professional soldier, attaining the rank of sergeant in a Dragoon regiment. He was a successful brewer and the business grew, in 1881 he was joined by the young William Warrington Dobson, whose hop merchant father, Matthew Dobson, was in partnership with Parker W W Dobson had left school at 16½ years of age and had spent a while as an office clerk before becoming an apprentice to a brewer at Barnsley.

In 1882 Dobson initiated the policy of buying licensed houses that came on the market and by 1899 no fewer than 400 houses in the Potteries were owned by the firm. Henry Parker died in 1885, a wealthy man with an estate worth £93,000 and a home in Newcastle-under-Lyme.³

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1. Staffordshire Advertiser - 20 November 1852
 2. Staffordshire Advertiser - 8 December 1860
 3. Obituary - Staffordshire Advertiser - 8 August 1885; Local Newscuttings Volume 4, p.62.

The brewery was bought for £545,000 in 1889 and from then on was known as Parker's Burslem Brewery Company and by 1907 became a limited liability company. In 1894 the chairman of directors was J Akenhead and the other directors were Samuel Lucas, C Page Wood, F M Haig and W W Dobson. Dobson was the managing director of the company and business continued to expand, the brewery premises were rebuilt and extended and by 1899 output had trebled since 1881.

"Parker's Brewery is one of the biggest industrial hives in Burslem. Here the firm not only carry on the business of brewers but keep a big staff of joiners, cartwrights, and fitters who do all the work required to keep the public houses owned by the Company in a state of repair. As a master Mr Dobson is admitted to have a vocabulary of Saxon strength and forcibility at his command when things are not going as they should be but this notwithstanding his relations with his employees and tenants are based upon mutual esteem."¹

Profits increased, in 1894 they reported larger profits than ever before and in 1896 their net trading profit was £66,323.1s. 5d. (£66,323.07½p) and the balance after interest on debentures and loans was £50,865.9s. 6d (£50,865.47½p) plus £440.1s. 7d brought forward. In 1911 Parker's owned 59 properties in Burslem alone, comprising 15 fully licensed houses and 44 beerhouses.

The profits of the 1890s were made in spite of a general depression of trade, strikes and adverse legislation. In 1894 Dobson asserted that:

"in spite of the agitation they had to meet he held that their trade was a legitimate and a just one. If the Government chose to alter the existing control over the liquor traffic he hoped it would be in the direction of manhood suffrage and not of ratepayers solely. Every man, he contended, had a right to select for himself what he should eat or drink."²

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1. Local Newscuttings Volume 4, p.183
 2. Staffordshire Advertiser 21 July 1894

However, it was the ratepayers who were polled in 1896 in the area of new housing between Moorland Road and Hamil Road, by the Park. The vote had been 222 against public houses and 105 in favour in a district that by 1900 had a population of some 2,000 in 800 new houses, yet applications to erect public houses were refused. The distribution of public houses, beerhouses and off-licenses was most uneven. The old areas were over supplied whilst new areas were under supplied. An application by Allsopp's, who owned the Granville Hotel on Waterloo Road, for a beer off-license was refused because there were eight licensed houses within 700 yards of the premises.

Parker's did not have a monopoly of houses in Burslem. There were a large number of individually owned houses as well as Allsopps Ltd. with eleven houses and Bass, Ratcliffe & Gretton with five properties, including two off-licenses.

Brewing was a lucrative business and it made W W Dobson the wealthiest business man in Burslem. He could afford to live in Seighford Hall at Seighford, near Stafford where he could indulge in his enthusiasm for hunting, he was M.F.H. of the North Stafford hunt for 1903-04, 1906-27. He was also keen on shooting and joined the 1st Vol. Batt. of the North Stafford Regiment in 1880, he was a Captain in 1885, a Major in 1890, a Lt. Colonel in 1895 and Colonel in 1900, he retired in 1908 with the reorganisation of the Volunteers into the Territorial Army and from 1909 was the Honorary Colonel and chairman of the Staffordshire Territorial Association's Organisation Committee. His career in public life began with his election to the new County Council for Burslem East Ward in 1889 at the age of 27. He was elected to Burslem Town Council in 1892

and was Mayor for the years 1897-98 and 1905-06 and in April 1906 he was elected an alderman. He was elected to the County Borough Council of Stoke-on-Trent and was soon made an alderman on that council too. He was a Justice of the Peace for the county from 1898 and for Burslem from 1900. He and his father made a generous contribution of £1,000 to the Hayward Hospital for new wards in 1890 and he paid for a regular Christmas treat for poor children in the town, a tradition that was continued for some time after his death in 1941, the Dobson's and Parker's Brewery contributed a total of £600 to the building of the replacement St John's National School. W W Dobson was knighted in 1933 and died leaving £345,195. 17s. 2d. Brewing continued until 1949, but the brewery is now a storage and distribution depot and Parker's ales merely a fond memory for many of the older inhabitants of the Potteries.

Potteries in Burslem c1850 - c1910Key:

- ? - uncertainty as to the date or the company
 r - recorded at that date. (Directory date - 1851
 1864, 1867, 1870, 1875, 1879, 1884, 1889, 1892,
 1907, 1908).
 c - circa

Potteries are not listed in any particular order though
 they are grouped geographically

CENTRAL BURSLEM1 Overhouse Works

1828	-	1856	William Pointon
1856	-		Morgan, Williams & Co.
	-	1861	Morgan, Wood & Co. (see 3)
1861	-	1869	Allman, Broughton & Co.
1869	-	1870	The works were demolished and re-built
1870	-	1905	Ralph Hammersley
1905	-	1942	Gater, Hall & Co.

2 Sytch Pottery

1850	-	1928	Thomas Till & Sons
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3 Hill Works

1850	-	1860	William Barker & Son
1860	-	1870	Morgan, Wood & Co. (see 1)
1870	-	1880	Wood & Baggaley
1880	-	1886	Jacob Baggaley
1886	-	1938	Dunn, Bennett & Co.

4 Hill Pottery

1828	-	1859	Samuel Alcock & Co.
1860	-	1865	Sir James Duke & Nephews
1866	-	1867	The Hill Pottery Co.

4a Hill Pottery - Earthenware

1867	-	1877	Burgess, Leigh & Co (see 13)
1877	-	1889	Burgess & Leigh (see 34)
			James Vernon
			Arthur J Wilkinson & Co (see 13, 26, 56)
r1907			Brown & Steventon

4b Hill Pottery - China

1867	-	1870	Alcock & Diggory
1870	-	1871	Bodley & Diggory
1871	-	1874	Edward F Godley (see 7, 43)
1874	-	1875	Bodley & Son
1875	-	1892	Edwin J D Bodley
1895	-	1897	A Heath & Co.
cl900			E J Oliver
			Possibly converted to earthenware production

4c Hill Pottery - Jet and Rockingham

rl900	-		Samuel Johnson (see 23)
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5 High Street Pottery or Union Bank

rl851	-		Redulphus Hancock
rl851	-		Lythgoe & Corn
rl864	-		Holdcroft, Hill & Mellor (see 10)
1868	-	1875	Whittingham, Ford & Co. (see 29)
1875	-	1885	Buckley, Wood & Co.
1885	-	1890	Buckley, Heath & Co.
1890	-	1892	Buckley, Heath & Greatbatch (see 17)
1892	-	1927	J Wade & Co (see 6)

6 High Street

rl864	-	rl867	John Walley
rl870	-	rl875	Wade & Co.
rl879			Wade & Colclough
rl884			Wade, Colclough & Lingard
rl889	-	rl892	Wade & Co.
rl907			(George Wade
			(J & W Wade

7 Scotia Works

1857	-	1862	James Vernon (senior) (see 63)
1862	-	1864	Bodley & Harrold
1864	-	1880	Edward F Bodley & Co (see 46, 43)
1880	-	1881	E F Bodley & Sons
rl882	-	rl884	Untenanted
rl892	-	rl908	Burslem Pottery Co.

8 Swan Bank Pottery

rl851			Thomas Pinder (see 14, 53)
	-	1873	Hancock, Whittingham & Co.
1873	-	1883	Tundley, Rhodes & Procter
1883	-	1886	Rhodes & Procter
rl886			Keeling & Co. (see 11, 28, 38)
rl907			?Century Pottery Co.

9 Bell or Brickhouse Works

1846	-	?1853	William Beech
?1853	-	1853	Beech & Brock
1853	-	1864	William Beech
1864	-	1873	Jane Beech
1873	-	1876	Beech & Podmore (see 68)
1876			Purchased by the Local Board of Health and demolished for the Vegetable Market.

10 Queen Street Pottery

1846/7	-	1860	Cork & Edge
1860	-	1866	Cork, Edge & Malkin (see 20, 25)
1866	-	rl870	Holdcroft, Hill & Mellor (see 5)
rl870			Holdcroft & Co.
rl875	-	rl879	Rathbone, Hill & Co.
1882	-	1885	W H Adams
rl889			Thomas Wood
rl892			Thomas Wood & Son

11 Bourne' Bank (split into more than one works)

rl851			George Hood
rl851			William Taylor
rl851			Ephraim Hallam
rl864	-	rl867	Brough, Joynson & Co.
		1867	Plant, Gardener & Co. (see 35, 88)
rl870	-	rl879	Tinsley, Bourne & Co.
rl875	-	rl879	W E Cartledge (see 52, 78)
rl875	-	rl879	Wade & Colclough
		1883	J & G Keeling (?see 8, 38)
rl884			Rhodes & Co.
rl889			Shaw & Son
rl892			Holmes & Leese
1875	-	1884	Gibson, Lewis & Sudlow (see 49)
1884	-	1894	Robert Sudlow (see 75)
1894	-	1940	King & Barratt

12 Crown Works, Market Place

rl864			Emery & Lea
rl867			Lea, Smith & Boulton
rl870			Lea, & Smith
rl875	-	1879	James Gaskell, Son & Co.
1879	-		John Gaskell & Co. (see 45)
1882	-	1892	Edwin James Drew Bodley
rl907			C Simpson & Co.

13 Central Pottery

1836		Opened
1851	-	Hulme & Booth
	- 1867	Burgess & Leigh (see 4a, 34)
1870	- 1881	Richard Alcock
1881	- 1884	Wilkinson & Hulme
1884	-	Arthur J Wilkinson (see 4a, 26, 56)
r1907		?Shorter Bros.

14 Fountain Place (more than one works)

	- 1851	Peter Holdcroft
1851	- 1873	Charles Collinson & Co.
1866	- 1867	R T Boughton
r1860	- ?1862	Pinder, Bourne & Hope (see 8, 53)
,1862	- 1879	Hope & Carter
r1889		Brayford & Gelson
r1896		Goodwin & Davison
1899	- 1900	Ralph Plant & Co. (see 11, 35, 88)

15 Furlong Works/Middle Fountain Works

r1850	- 1855	T., J & J Mayer (see 38)
1855	- 1860	Mayer Bros. & Elliott
1860	- 1863	L Elliott & Son.
1863	- 1864	Untenanted
r1870		Povey, Cooper & Co.
r1875	- 1892	William Oulsnam & Son
?1900		Simpson & Co.

NEWCASTLE STREET, DALEHALL AND LONGPORT AREA

16 Newcastle Street

1830	-	John Maddock/& Son/& Sons/& Sons Ltd (see 31)
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17 Navigation Road

?1851		?Benjamin Clulow Godwin; Thomas Godwin
1853	- r1864	Edward Corn
r1867	- 1891	W & E Corn (see 42)
r1892	- 1896	J Buckley & Sons (see 5)
r1907		?Navigation Sanitary Co.

18 Alexandra Pottery, Navigation Road

1888	-	Henry J Wood - moved from a small pottery in Chapel Lane
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19 Albion Works, 60 Navigation Road

rl907 Price Bros. (Burslem) Ltd (see 42)

20 New Wharf Pottery, Navigation Road

rl864 Cork, Edge & Malkin (see 10, 25)
rl867 Daniel & Cork
rl870 Robinson, Kirkham & Co.
1872 - 1877 Hollinshead & Kirkham
rl879 Wood & Co. also called the New Wharf Pottery Co.
(see 24)

21 Furlong Lane/Peel Street

1857/8 Built by John Venables
rl864 George Lawton
rl867 Meakin Bros.
rl870 Meakin Bros. & Co.
rl875 - 1882 Charles Meakin (see 82)
rl884 - rl892 Gater & Co.
rl907 ?T A Simpson & Co Ltd or
Wood & Sons (see 20, 24)

22 Hadderidge Pottery, Bath Street

rl851 Joseph Harding
1859 - Heath, Blackhurst & Co.
- 1880 Blackhurst & Tunnickliffe
1880 - rl892 Blackhurst & Bourne
1893 - 1904 Edwards & Sons (see 39, 57)

23 Wellington Works, Newport Street

rl870 Downing & Co.
- 1877 Thomas, Rathbone, Oakley & Co.
1877 - Chesters, Thomas & Co.
rl884 Johnson & Martin
rl889 - rl892 Samuel Johnson (see 4c)
1899 - James Sadler & Sons Ltd (see 50)

24 Trent Pottery

rl889 Wood & Sons (see 20, 21)

25 Newport Works

- 1857 William Davenport & Co (see 41, 42, 43)
- ?1866 Cork, Edge & Malkin (see 10, 20)

25a Newport Works - Earthenware

1866 - Edge, Malkin & Co.
 r1907 S W Dean
 r1912 Deans (1910) Ltd

25b Newport Works - Tiles

1866 - Malkin, Edge & Co.
 r1907 - The Malkin Tile Works Co. Ltd

26 Mersey Pottery/Royal Staffordshire Pottery

?1850 - 1900 Anthony Shaw
 1900 - A J Wilkinson Ltd (see 4a, 13, 56)

27 Lincoln Pottery, Newport Lane

r1892 - 1894 Smith, Ford & Jones
 1894 - Smith, Ford & Co.
 r1907 Samuel Ford & Co.

28 Newport Lane

r1889 - r1892 Keeling & Co. (see 8, ?11, 38)
 r1907 Sydney Marsden (tiles)
 r1908 Marsden Tiles Ltd - Fairfield & Ducal Works

29 Newcastle Street

r1879 Whittingham, Ford & Riley (see 5)
 r1884 Ford & Riley
 r1889 - r1892 Ford & Son
 r1902 - 1933 Ford & Sons

30 Newcastle Street

1870 - 1871 Gater & Draycott

31 Newcastle Street

1874 - 1875 Built on new site
 r1875 - Maddock & Gater (see 16)
 r1879 J & J Maddock
 r1884 Maddock & Co.

32 Newcastle Street

r1889 Dean Bros.
 r1892 Thomas Dean

- 33 Newcastle Street
 rl892 Stubbs & Hodgart (encaustic tiles)
- 34 Middleport Pottery
 1889 Built by Burgess & Leigh
 1889 - Burgess & Leigh (see 4a, 13)
- 35 Crown Pottery, Dalehall
 cl887 - rl907 Plant Bros. (see 11, 14, 88)
- 36 Dale Hall Pottery
 1842 - 1882 James Edwards & Son (see 46)
 1882 - rl884 Knapper & Blackhurst
- 37 Dalehall
 rl884 Owen, Raby & Co.
- 38 Dalehall Works, Stubbs Street
 cl842 - 1855 T, J & J Mayer
 1855 - 1860 Mayer Bros. & Elliott
 1860 - 1870 Liddle Elliott & Son
 1870 - 1875 Bates, Elliott & Co.
 1875 - 1877/8 Bates, Walker & Co.
 1877/8 - 1881 Bates, Gildea & Walker
 1881 - rl889 Gildea & Walker
 rl892 - rl894 Dalehall Pottery Co.
 rl907 Keeling & Co. (see 8, 711, 28)
- 39 Albion Pottery, Orme Street
 rl892 - Bourne & Leigh
 - 1916 ?Edwards (see 22, 57)
- 40 Station Street, Longport
 rl892 ?Thomas Mansfield Hurd (see 54)
 rl907 ?Sanitary Pottery Co. Ltd;
- 41 Unicorn Works, Longport
 1835 - 1881 William Davenport & Co.
 1881 - 1887 Davenports Ltd
 1888 - 1957 Thomas Hughes/& Son (see 60)

- 42 Top Bridge Works, Longport
- 1835 - 1881 W Davenport & Co.
 1881 - r1889 Thomas Hughes
 1891 - 1904 W & E Corn (see 17)
 r1912 Price Bros. (Burslem) Ltd (see 19)
- 43 New Bridge Works/Lower Bridge Works, Longport
- 1835 - 1877 W Davenport & Co.
 1877 - 1881 Edward Clarke & Co. (see 56)
 1881 - r1892 E F Bodley & Son (see 46, 7)
- 44 Bradwell Works, Longport
- 1884 - 1892 Capper & Dean
 1892 - 1904 Capper & Wood
 1904 - 1928 Arthur Wood
- 45 White Hall Works, Longport
- r1884 Gaskell & Grocott (see 12)
 r1889 - r1892 Grocott & Dickinson
 r1907 Gaskell & Grocott

HAMILL AREA/MOORLAND ROAD AREA

- 46 Knowle Works, Hamil Road
- r1851 James Edwards (see 36)
 r1867 Evans & Booth
 r1870 Evans & Tomkinson
 r1879 Robinson & Co.
 r1884 - 1903 Joseph Robinson
- 47 Moorland Road (and Reginald Street)
- 1884 Built by Thomas Arrowsmith
 1884 - Thomas Arrowsmith/&Son/&Sons
- 48 Chelsea Works, Moorland Road
- r1889 - r1908 Hollinshead & Griffiths
- 49 Albany Pottery, Moorland Road
- 1884 Built by Samuel Gibson
 1885 - Gibson & Sons/Ltd (see 11)

50 Moorland Road (Reginald St. Works)

1882 - 1899 Sadler & Co. (see 23)
r1907 Rhodes Tile Co. Ltd

NILE STREET AREA

51 Kiln Croft Works

?1851 - r1892 Henry Burgess
Doulton & Co. (see 52, 53)

r1851 - r1867 Nehemiah Massey & Sons
r1870 Thomas W. Massey

r1864 John Parr

52 Silvester Pottery, Nile Street

r1864 William E Cartledge (see 11, 78)
r1867 - Dean & Stokes
r1870 Baker & Chetwynd
r1875 - 1876 Charles G Baker
1876 - 1886 Holmes, Plant & Madew
1886 - 1887 Holmes, Plant & Co.
1887 Doulton & Co. (see 51, 53)

53 Nile Street Works

1834 - 1851 Mellor, Venables & Co. (see 67)
1851 - 1853 Venables & Baines
1853 - ?1857 Venables, Mann & Co. (see 67)
?1862 - 1882 Pinder, Bourne & Co. (see 8, 14)
1882 - Doulton & Co. (see 51, 52)

54 Nile Street

r1870 - r1879 William Walley
r1884 Thomas Mansfield Hurd & Co. (see 40)

55 Silvester Square Works

r1864 George Howson
r1867 - r1870 William H Wigley
r1875 - r1879 Wigley & Shirley
r1884 Rathbone & Rowland
r1889 - r1892 William Rathbone & Co.

r1892 Beech & Goodall

WATERLOO ROAD - COBRIDGE - SNEYD GREEN AREA

56 Churchyard Works

r1851	-	c1853	Jesse Bridgwood; Henry Bold
c1857	-	1864	Bridgwood & Clarke
1864	-		Edward Clarke
	-	1869	Smith & Lea
1879	-	1872	Wood & Clarke
1873	-	1878	W E Withinshaw (see 58)
1878	-	1879	Francis J Emery (see 68)
1880	-	1887	Edward Clarke (see 43)
1887	-	1895	Arthur J Wilkinson (see 4a, 13, 26)
1895			The site was purchased for the new St John's National Schools.

57 Hanover Street Pottery

1853		William Colclough
1874		Matthew Leader
r1892		Edwards & Sons (see 22, 39)
1894		T Garner & Co.
1896		Bradley & Preece
r1907		Arthur Holdcroft

58 Gladstone Works/Progressive Works Commercial St.

r1875		W E Withinshaw (see 56)	
r1889	-	r1892	R Billington (see 67)
1892		G R Mountford	
r1907		George Clewes & Co. Ltd	

59 Regent Street Works

1851		John Hawthorne & William Nash (see 69)
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60 Waterloo Road Works

1820	-	1855	Stephen Hughes & Son
1855	-	1881	Thomas Hughes (see 41)
1881	-	1904	Mellor, Taylor & Co. (see 67, 53)
1910			A Roller-Skating Rink was opened on the site on 12 May.

61 Waterloo Potteries

1850	-	Thomas & Richard Boote
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62 Belle Works, 78 Waterloo Road

r1874		Phillips & Sant	
r1880	-	r1892	Jeremiah Sant (see 87)
r1907		J F Elton & Co. Ltd	

63 Waterloo Pottery

1846 - 1880 James Vernon/& Son (see 7)
1880 - r1889 J & G Vernon

64 Washington Works

1847 - 1854 William Sadler Kennedy
1854 - James Macintyre & Co. (Woodall & Hulme)

65 Garfield Pottery, Waterloo Road

1882 Built by H G Ball, chemist and druggist
1882 - 1905 (Alfred) Wood & (Henry) Hulme
1905 - Henry Hulme & Sons

66 Podmore Street Works/Excelsior Works

1853 - John Toplass & Co.
r1864 - r1867 Edwin Parr
r1867 John Forrister
r1870 Payne Brothers
r1875 Wildblood & Co.
r1879 Thomas & James Heath
r1889 - r1900 Walter Clare (see 70)

67 Unspecified Potteries on Waterloo Road

1851 Heath & Rigby
1851 James Taylor (see 60)
- 1858 Taylor Bros.
r1889 Whittaker & Co.
1860 Venables & Co. (see 53)
r1884 R Billington, 96 Waterloo Road (see 58)

68 Bleak Hill Works

1851 - r1867 Elijah Hughes
r1870 Moore Brothers
r1873 - r1875 M Isaacs & Sons
1876 Beech & Podmore (see 9)
- 1879 John Podmore
1879 - 1894 Francis J Emery (see 56)
r1907 Davison & Son/Ltd.

69 Albert Street Works

1857 Built by John Hawthorn (see 59)
 1857 - r1870 John Hawthorne/& Son
 1870 - 1877 Wiltshaw, Wood & Co.
 1877 - 1932 William Wood & Co.

70 Sneyd Pottery, Albert Street

rl864 John Bennett
 rl867 - r1870 William Bennett
 - 1876 Williams, Oakes & Co.
 1876 - 1894 Oakes, (T), Clare & (A) Chadwick
 Walter Clare (see 66)

71 Albert Pottery, Albert Street

1860 Built by William Smith
 1860 - 1862 William Smith
 1862 - 1864 Dix & Tundley
 1864 - 1875 Charles Hobson
 1875 - 1900 George & John Hobson
 1900 - 1924 George Hobson

72 Albert Street

rl889 Joseph Barber

73 Wellington Street Works/Novelty Works

rl870 - r1879 John Parr
 rl879 Barlow, Kent & Parr
 1880 - r1884 Kent & Parr
 rl889 William Kent

74 Wellington Street

rl851 - r1879 Harding Hallen
 rl884 - r1892 Henry Hallen

75 Adelaide Street Works

1894 Built by Robert Sudlow (see 11)
 1894 - Robert Sudlow & Sons

76 Cobridge Works

1836 Opened
 1850 - 1871 William Brownfield
 1871 - r1892 William Brownfield & Sons
 1893 - 1898 Brownfield Pottery Guild/ Ltd
 1898 - 1900 Brownfield's Pottery/Ltd.
 rl907 Upper Hanley Pottery (Grimwades Ltd) - Brownfield Works.

77 Alexandra Pottery, Arthur Street

1902 Built on part of the site of the Cobridge Works
1902 - Ashley Myott, Son & Co. Ltd

78 Villa Pottery, Cobridge

1845 - 1864 Edward Walley
r1870 - r1879 Wood, Son & Co.
- Wood & Dunn
r1880 - r1892 William E Cartledge (see 11, 52)

79 Cobridge Works, Cobridge

1834/6 - 1861 Harding & Cockson
1862 - 1865 Charles Cockson
1866 - 1876 Cockson, Chetwynd & Co.
1876 - 1877 Cockson & Seddon
1877 - 1888 Birks Brothers & Seddon

80 Elder Road, Cobridge

1851 - r1870 Jacob Furnival & Co.
r1874 - r1892 Thomas Furnival & Son
r1907 Furnival Ltd.

81 Cobridge Pottery/Elder Pottery

1834 - 1910 Henry Alcock & Co./Ltd
1910 - Soho Pottery Ltd. (S J Simpson)

82 Elder Road Works

c1865 - r1875 Meakin & Co.
r1879 - 1882 Charles Meakin (see 21)
1882 - r1889 Crystal Porcelain Pottery Co. Ltd (Steele & Wood)
r1907 H & R Johnson, Crystal Porcelain Tile Works

83 Abbey Pottery, Cobridge

1853 - 1873 Edward Pearson
1873 - Henry Meakin
1876 Wood, Son & Co.
r1879 - r1884 ?Stanway & Tellwright
?1876 - ?1882 Wood & Hawthorne

84 Globe Pottery, Cobridge

1892 - c1896 Hughes & Robinson (Gideon Morley Billington)
r1907 ?Globe Sanitary Pottery Ltd.

- 85 North Road, Cobridge
- rl884 Cliff & Blore
rl889 R W Bloore
rl907 William Hulme
- 86 Unspecified Pottery in Cobridge
- 1896 C(lara) A(nn) Vernon & Co.
- 87 Sneyd Street, Cobridge
- 1834 - 1864 John & Robert Godwin
 1864 - 1866 John Godwin
 1868 - rl889 Bates & Bennett
rl889 - ?Sant & Vodrey (see 62)
rl892 - ?H W & S Sant & Co.
- 88 Sneyd Green Pottery
- 1863 - 1864 Moss & Cartwright
 1866 Thomas Cartwright & Sons
 1868 ?(R.) Plant, (R.) Plant, (J.) Plant &
 (J.) Gardiner (see 11, 14, 35)
- 89 Lincoln Works, Sneyd Green
- rl875 - rl879 L J Pope & Co.
 1882 - 1855 Beech & Tellwright
 1885 - 1890 Frederick Beech & Co.
rl892 Yates, Pointer, Brough & Payne
- 90 Prospect Pottery
- cl899 - 1900 Ernest Pidduck
 1900 - 1903 Pidduck, Rushton & Co.
- 91 Unknown Pottery
- 1862 Hancock, Leigh & Co.

Chapter VI - APPENDIX II (i)

Occupations in the Pottery Industry
in Burslem in 1864 as collected by
HM Inspector of Factories

	Totals	Adult		Young Persons		Children	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
Hollow-ware pressers, all branches	556	432	2	119	2	1	0
Flat-pressers, all branches	1072	207	3	303	34	439	86
Throwers, all branches	256	121	101	16	12	2	4
Turners and attendants	277	123	91	28	19	0	6
Handlers and handle makers	132	74	4	32	1	20	1
Cup, bowl, dish and basin makers	260	223	8	16	5	6	2
Mould makers	57	55	0	2	0	0	0
Slip makers	148	146	0	1	0	1	0
Saggar makers	109	86	0	21	0	2	0
Engravers	17	16	0	1	0	0	0
Dippers and assistants	201	76	9	92	5	17	2
Dipping House Ware cleaners	81	1	59	2	11	3	5
Placers and Oven Lads	362	323	0	37	0	2	0
Firemen	82	80	0	2	0	0	0
Kilnmen	54	42	0	11	0	1	0
Warehouse workers	562	113	214	45	124	32	34
Burnishers	169	1	103	0	51	1	13
Packers and assistants	122	72	0	45	0	5	0
Printers, transferrers and paper cutters	725	185	264	9	143	0	124
Gilders	258	188	16	51	0	3	0
Enamel painters	387	1	207	0	122	4	53
Biscuit painters	178	12	132	1	24	0	9
Ground Layers	15	15	0	0	0	0	0
Stencillers	23	3	20	0	0	0	0
Stilt Makers	67	1	60	0	6	0	0
Parian workers	36	16	2	6	0	12	0
Modellers	4	3	1	0	0	0	0
Scourers	2	0	1	0	1	0	0
Colour and Gold grinders	6	0	5	0	1	0	0
Errand Boys	4	0	0	2	0	2	0
Cookers to ware	6	5	0	1	0	0	0
Carters	11	11	0	0	0	0	0
Odd men	63	60	0	3	0	0	0
Foremen	8	8	0	0	0	0	0
Joiner and Builder	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Machine men	3	3	0	0	0	0	0
Labourers	12	7	0	4	0	1	0
Crate makers	16	16	0	0	0	0	0
Clay marble makers	3	1	2	0	0	0	0
Glazers and furnishers	4	4	0	0	0	0	0
Clerks	11	10	0	1	0	0	0
Edgers	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Metal mounters	4	2	0	1	0	1	0
Dust pressers	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
Engine Men	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Lodge keepers	3	3	0	0	0	0	0
Punchers	7	0	0	0	0	3	4
Plastic Boiler maker	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
		2749*	1305	852	562	558	344

*The official figure given is 2649 but that is not the correct total.

APPENDIX II (ii)

Distribution of Employment in the Pottery Industry 1864
in Burslem only

Men over 18 years

432 hollow-ware pressers
323 placers and oven lads
223 cup, bowl, dish and basin makers
207 flat-pressers
188 gilders
185 printers
146 slip makers
123 turners
121 throwers
113 warehouse workers
86 saggar makers
80 firemen
76 dippers
74 handlers and handle makers
72 packers and assistants
60 odd men
55 mould makers
42 kiln men
16 parian workers
16 engravers
16 crate makers
15 ground layers
12 biscuit painters
11 carters
10 clerks
8 foremen
7 labourers
5 cookers to ware
4 glazers and furnishers
3 lodge keepers
3 machine men
3 modellers
3 stencillers
2 engine men
2 metal mounters
1 burnisher
1 clay marble maker
1 dipping house ware cleaner
1 enamel painter
1 joiner and builder
1 plaster boiler maker
1 stilt maker

2749 total.

Trades unrepresented in Burslem:-
or unrecorded by the Factory Inspector

Lustrers
Flinters
Batt printers
Travellers
Artist goods makers
Ware polishers
Letter makers
Encaustic tile makers
Plain tile makers
Millers
Metal polishers
China figure makers
Artists
Die makers

Boys between 13 and 18 years

303 flat pressers
119 hollow ware pressers
92 dippers and assistants
51 gilders
45 packers and assistants
45 warehouse workers
37 placers and oven lads
32 handlers and handle makers
28 turners and attendants
21 saggar makers
16 cup, bowl, dish and basin makers
16 throwers and attendants
11 kilnmen
9 printers, transferrers and paper cutters
6 parian workers
4 labourers
3 odd men
2 errand boys
2 dipping house ware cleaners
2 firemen
2 mould makers
1 biscuit painter
1 clerk
1 cooker to ware
1 engraver
1 metal mounter
1 slip maker

852 total

Boys between 8 and 13 years*

439 flat pressers
32 warehouse workers
20 handlers and handle makers
17 dippers and assistants
12 parian workers
6 cup, bowl, dish and basin makers
5 packers and assistants
4 enamel painters
3 dipping house ware cleaners
3 gilders
3 punchers
2 errand boys
2 placers and oven lads
2 saggar makers
1 burnisher
1 hollow ware presser
1 kiln man
1 metal moulder
1 labourer
1 slip maker

558 total

*In most cases they were attendants and assistants

Women over 18 years

264 transferrers* and paper cutters and printers
214 warehouse workers
207 enamel painters
132 biscuit painters
103 burnishers
101 throwers and assistants+
91 turners and attendants+
60 stilt makers
59 dipping house ware cleaners
20 stancillers
16 gilders
9 dippers and assistants
8 cup, bowl, dish and basin makers
5 colour and gold grinders
4 handlers and handle makers
3 flat pressers
2 hollow-ware pressers
2 clay marble makers
2 parian workers
1 edger
1 modeller
1 scourer

1305 total

*nearly all would be transferrers
+they were assistants and attendants

Girls between 13 and 18 years

143 printers, transferrers and paper cutters
124 warehouse workers
122 enamel painters
51 burnishers
34 flat pressers
24 biscuit painters
19 turners and assistants
12 throwers and assistants
11 dipping house ware cleaners
6 stilt makers
5 cup, bowl, dish and basin makers
5 dippers and assistants
2 hollow-ware pressers
1 colour and gold grinder
1 dust presser
1 handler and handle maker
1 scourer

562 total

Girls between 8 and 13 years

124 printers, transferrers and paper-cutters*
86 flat pressers
53 enamel painters
34 warehouse workers
13 burnishers
9 biscuit painters
6 turners and attendants
5 dipping house ware cleaners
4 throwers and attendants
4 punchers
2 cup, bowl, dish and basin makers
2 dippers and assistants
1 dust presser
1 handler and handle maker

344 total

*nearly all would be paper-cutters

Chapter VI - Appendix III

Occupations in Burslem in 1901 from the Census of 1901

Males over 10 years

Total, occupied and unoccupied	14,074
Earthenware, China Porcelain Manufacture	5,295
coal and Shale Miners	1,069
Building and Works of Construction	1,018
Conveyance of Men, Goods, Messages	789
Food, Drink, Tobacco and Lodging	642
Engineering and Machine Making	391
Bricks, Plain Tiles and Terra Cotta Manufacture	289
Wood, Furniture, Fittings and Decoration	288
Commercial or Business Clerks	238
Dress	213
Tools, Dies, Arms, Miscellaneous Metal Manufacture	134
Iron and Steel Manufacture	110
Paper, Prints, Books, Stationery	80
Cycles, Coaches and Other Vehicles	48
Skins, Leather, Hair, Feathers	18
All other occupations	1,581
Total engaged in occupation	12,203
Retired or Unoccupied.....	1,871
Those over 10 years and under 14 in occupation.....	246
Proportion of the above as a per centage of the total.....	14.5

Females over 10 years

Total, occupied and unoccupied	15,248
Earthenware, China, Porcelain Manufacture	4,097
Domestic Indoor Servants (not Hotels)	604
Milliners, Dressmakers, Shirtmakers, Seamstresses	365
Food, Tobacco, Drink, Lodging	239
Teaching	202
Tailoresses	74
Charwomen	71
Laundry and Washing Service	41
Textile Manufacture	9
Tools, Dies, Miscellaneous Metal Manufacture	7
Skins, Leather, Hair, Feathers	1
All Other Occupations	437
Total Engaged in Occupation	6,147
Retired or Unoccupied	9,101
Those over 10 and under 14 in occupation	161
Proportion of the above as a per centage	9.2
Unmarried in Occupation	4,306
Married or Widowed In Occupation	1,841
Proportion of Married or Widowed in Occupation	22.1
Proportion of Domestic Servants to the total no. of separate occupiers or families	7.8

P O S T S C R I P T

Burslem in 1850 was a rather different place from Burslem in 1910, it was larger, both in area and in population, it had a number of fine buildings, it was sewered and drained, the roads and pavements were paved, electricity had come and gas was extensively used, recreational facilities were provided and all children went to school for several years, conditions for the very poor were still quite inadequate but probably showed the least improvement of any section. These changes were the result, in the first place, of an Act of Parliament. It might not be compulsory, but if the powers existed they were adopted in most cases, and a local body was elected to administer the provisions of the Act out of local funds, though by the twentieth century these had become inadequate and support from central government funds was needed. In most cases the members of the Boards coped well with the problems, whether they formed an oligarchy or not, and in a relatively small community in which they knew each other well it would be difficult to avoid an oligarchic situation. They were not left entirely to their own devices, the central government departments exercised a measure of supervision, particularly over education and any application to borrow money was investigated by an Inspector from the appropriate department before they could borrow funds. There were plenty of ratepayers keeping an eye on their activities and anything that was strongly disagreed with was objected to and could be altered. Between central government and the ratepayers (who comprised most of the house-holders in the town, as an attempt to apply an Act which meant that tenants lost their votes as ratepayers to the landlord was defeated at a town meeting in 1852)¹ the members could only do as much as allowed by those two

1. S. Adv. 17 January 1852

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